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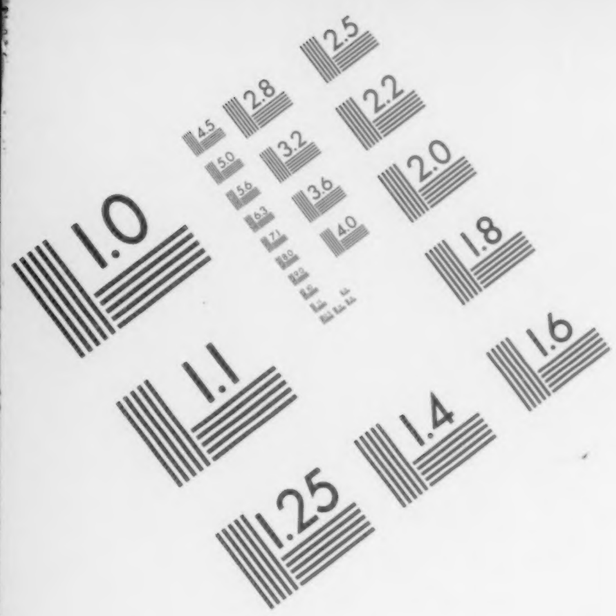
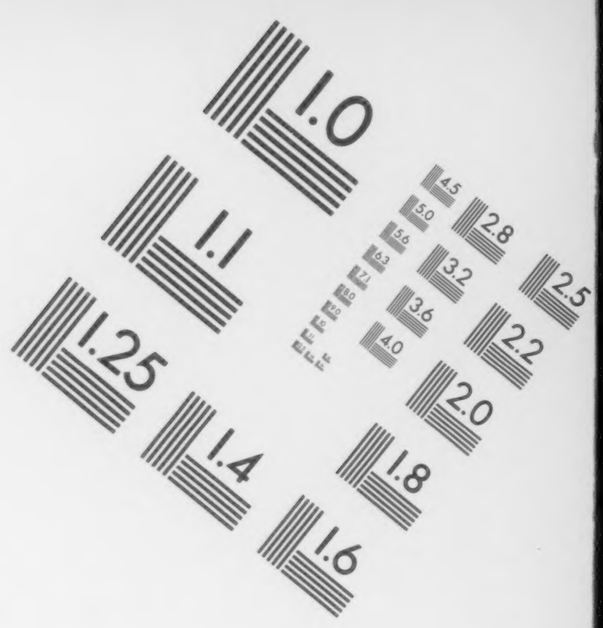

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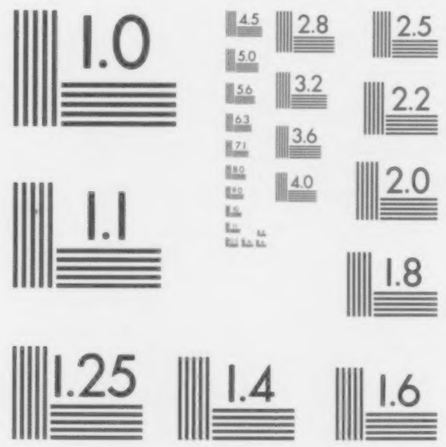

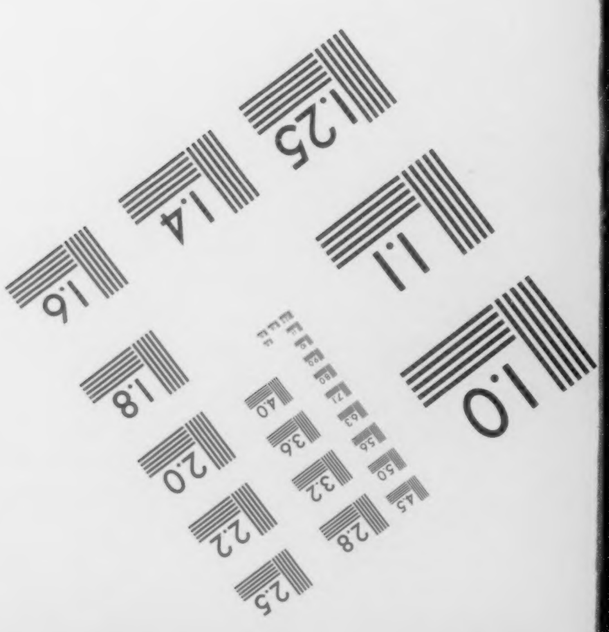

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXTANT PLAYS OF EURIPIDES

BY

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY

Associate Professor of Greek in Vassar College

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EXTANT PLAYS OF EURIPIDES

Of the eighteen extant plays of Euripides eight are securely dated by ancient testimony. These are the Alcestis (438), the Medea (431), the Hippolytus (428), the Troades (415), the Helen (412), the Orestes (408), and, for all practical purposes, the Bacchants,[1] and the Aulid Iphigenia. Still another, the Phœnissæ, may be placed within certain narrow limits on the strength of statements ancient but—unfortunately—incomplete.

The criteria which serve in determining the date of the remaining dramas are of various kinds: parodies in the comedies of Aristophanes which afford *termini ante quos*, allusions to past and contemporaneous political events, the attitude of the poet toward politics and religion, and the character of the play itself. The extant dramas which are exactly dated range from 438 B. C. to the year of the poet's death. They are sufficient in number to show a development of technique and a growth of mannerism which are important factors in determining the dates of the remaining dramas. Indeed three groups of plays, separated by stylistic differences, are easily discernible among the surviving plays, in spite of the fact that the earliest of them, the Alcestis, was composed when Euripides was already more than forty years old.

The points of technique which distinguish the groups are both metrical and linguistic. In the metre the increasing number of resolutions in the iambic trimeter, the use of trochaic tetrameters, the revival of which was a phenomenon attending the increasing freedom of the trimeter, the extension of the use of mixed dochmiacs, and the greater range of variety in the

[1] Produced after the death of Euripides.

metres employed are points indicative of an advance on the part of the poet along certain lines which are of value in assigning a play to certain years, or rather to certain periods. Further considerations are the metrical constitution of the choruses in the matter of responsions, the growing lack of symmetry in the threnodies, the extended use of monodies and *ἀμοιβαῖα*, the alternate songs of actors. Another test of the period to which a play belongs is the relative relevancy of the songs sung by the chorus to the situation in which the singers find themselves. It is recognized that irrelevancy to the plot and situation on the part of the chorus is more and more marked in Euripides's later dramas. The verbal style increasingly lacks restraint as the lyrical parts expand. Repetitions of musical words and the subjection of sense to sound in the lyric portions mark even the finest of the later dramas, and the gradual growth of this mannerism gives an indication which is of use in assigning a play to the group to which it belongs. Another important consideration is the inter-relation of the plays in point of borrowed phrase, motive, or situation. This borrowing or repetition may be of such a nature as to be absolutely inconclusive, or there may be so plain an indication of an advance in technique, or at any rate of an adaptation of material, as to settle the question of priority. The relation of the art of Sophocles to the art of Euripides is another question which forces itself upon us in discussing certain plays of Euripides with reference to chronology. The two poets inevitably affected one another's work, contemporaries and rivals as they were, contesting for the same prizes, and each treating subjects which had been handled by the other. There is the plainest evidence of their mutual influence in the work of both poets. And thus a play of Sophocles may afford a *terminus post* or *ante quem* for a play of Euripides.

The problems which are to be solved by some or all of these means according to the individual play have been essayed by various scholars of the last two centuries. Several chronologies of the plays have been published either separately or in con-

nection with the editions of Euripides, and some of the plays have been made the subjects of a number of individual discussions. Universally satisfying results have not been reached, and not only the popular hand-books, but the critical works of scholars as well, contain statements to which exception must be taken. The lack of unanimity in dating the plays is apparent on a comparison of the various opinions of critics. The Heraclidæ has been assigned to years ranging from 445 B. C. to 418. The Andromache has been variously dated 430–424, 424–418, and 413–412. The Ion is counted now among the poet's early extant work, and now among his latest. The Heracles is declared by some to have preceded Sophocles's Trachinians, by others to have been suggested by that play. The same question of priority, with notable scholars on either side of it, exists about the Electra of Sophocles and the Electra of Euripides. Roscher and others place the Tauric Iphigenia as early as 425 B. C. Others place it in 414, and yet others make it follow the Helen and give it a place among the latest plays. The Supplices is dated both before and after the Peace of Nicias. In his Analecta Euripidea Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff says of the drama—"Post Niciæ pacem in commendationem fœderis Argivi scriptam esse fabula se ipse testatur". In the introduction to "Der Mütter Bittgang" he argues that the play must have been composed either in 422 or, possibly, 421, before the peace and with the view of creating feeling for it. Other critics are divided between these two opinions. The Phœnissæ is variously dated between the limits 411 and 407. With regard to the Hecuba there is little dispute, and the Cyclops has not had frequent treatment.

The chronology of the plays has been taken up in a separate treatise by Zirndorfer and by Fix in the preface to the Didot edition, 1843. Hartung gives a chronological table in his Euripides Restitutus sive Scriptorum Euripidis Ingeniique Censura, and has discussed the dates of some of the plays in connection with their analyses. Musgrave has a general *chrono-*

logia scenica, Hermann, Pflugk, and other editors usually consider the problems connected with the date of the individual play in the preface to the same. Jebb discusses the date of the extant plays in the Encyclopædia Britannica. Nauck expressly avoids the subject: "de chronologia tragœdiarum Euripidearum adeo rara sunt et manca testimonia ut plerarumque ætas nobis ignota sit, neque in animo est coniecturas ea de re periclitari utique lubricas".[1] A chronology of the plays with comment is given by von Wilamowitz–Moellendorff in Analecta Euripidea, pp. 147–157. Berlage in his Commentatio de Euripide Philosopho[2] has an introductory general discussion of the order of the dramas, and Murray in his recent critical edition of Euripides gives a list of the plays "secundum ordinem temporum quibus actæ esse videntur". Separate plays have been examined for the purpose of determining their respective dates by Hardion, Boeckh, Firnhaber, Bergk, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Vahlen, Bruhn, Kaibel, and others.

I subjoin a chronological table of the extant plays in which I have dated them according to the years which a study of the plays and an examination of the literature of the subject appears to me to warrant or to render possible. I then take up the question of the date of each play, following in the discussion the order of my chronological table.

	B. C.
Cyclops	Date unknown; probably before the Alcestis; certainly before the Hecuba.
Alcestis	438.
Medea	431.
Heraclidæ	430, after the first Spartan invasion, and after the Theban attack on Platæa.
Hippolytus	428.

[1] Nauck, Euripides, I, xxvii.
[2] Leyden, 1888.

Hecuba	425–423.
Suppliants	420, after the treaty with Argos.
Heracles	420–418.
Andromache	417, after the battle of Mantinea.
Ion	416–414.
Troades	415.
Iphigenia among the Taurians	414–413.
Electra	413.
Helen	412.
Phœnissæ	410–409.
Orestes	408.
Bacchants	407.
Iphigenia at Aulis	407.

The Rhesus I have not taken into account, regarding it as fully established that this play is not the work of Euripides and belongs to the following century.[1]

The Cyclops

There is no traditional evidence for the date of the Cyclops; there are no allusions in the play to aid in determining its period, and the usual tests of metrical technique and verbal style cannot be applied with certainty, owing to the fact that this play is the sole example of its kind that has come down to us.

The nature of the satyric drama will account for the large percentage of resolutions in the iambic trimeter, and the combination of several resolved feet in the same line. It is of significance, however, that several of the later tragedies go beyond the Cyclops in freedom in this respect.[2] The shortness of the

[1] Rolfe, J. C., The Tragedy Rhesus, 1893. (Harvard Studies in Class. Phil., IV.)
[2] Rumpel, Philologus, 23, Die Auflösungen im Trimeter des Euripides. Statistics given by Humphreys, M. W., A. J. P., I. pp. 187 ff.

lyrical parts is noted by Bergk, who, however, regards the play as one which by no means "zu den älteren Arbeiten des Euripides gehört". The shortness of the play *per se* might lead us to place it early, but we have no knowledge of the comparative length of satyr-dramas, and it would be reasonable to infer that a short play of this type would be given after the tragic trilogy.[1] The vocabulary of the Cyclops is essentially tragic, although the subject-matter naturally introduces many words from pastoral and vulgar parlance. This character was evidently common to the vocabulary of the satyr-dramas in general. Compare Horace Ars Poetica, vv. 234 ff.

> Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
> verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo.

Metrically and stylistically, then, there is nothing distinctly in favor of a late date for this drama, while some evidences of comparative restraint and conservatism in technique and vocabulary, considering the nature of the plot, may be taken, though with due reservation in view of our ignorance of the constitution of other satyr-dramas, as pointing to an early date.

A *terminus ad quem* has been discovered for the play in the Hecuba, which Kaibel has shown to have derived a motive from the Cyclops.[2] This is the blinding of Polymestor, the Thracian king, which is, as Kaibel proves, suggested by the blinding of Polyphemos. The passages in question are the closing scene of the Cyclops (lines 663 to end), and the last act of the Hecuba (lines 1035 to the end). There are notable likenesses in situation and expression. Both victims receive the punishment of blinding for inhuman deeds. Dramatic sympathy is in both cases against them. The Cyclops in his cave cries out in anguish:

> *Ὦ μοι, κατηνθρακώμεθ' ὀφθαλμοῦ σέλας*[3]

[1] Croiset, Histoire de la littérature grecque, 3, Chap. ix.

[2] Kaibel, Hermes, 30 (1895), Kratinos' *Ὀδυσσῆς* and Euripides *Κύκλωψ*, pp. 82 ff.

[3] v. 663.

while the chorus of satyrs wait exulting outside, and respond:

> *Καλός γ' ὁ παιάν· μέλπε μοι τόνδ' αὖ, Κύκλωψ.*

Likewise Polymestor cries:

> *Ὦ μοι τυφλοῦμαι φέγγος ὀμμάτων τάλας,*[1]

and his words are overheard with joy by the chorus of waiting Trojan women.

The threatenings of both blinded ones are couched in similar terms:

> *ἀλλ' οὔτι μὴ φύγητε τῆσδ' ἔξω πέτρας*
> *χαίροντες, οὐδὲν ὄντες· ἐν πύλαισι γὰρ*
> *σταθεὶς φάραγγος ταῖσδ' ἐναρμόσω χέρας.*[2]
>
> *ἀλλ' οὔτι μὴ φύγητε λαιψηρῷ ποδί·*
> *βάλλων γὰρ ὄγκων τῶνδ' ἀναρρήξω μυχούς.*
> *ἰδού, βαρείας χειρός ὁρμᾶται βέλος.*[3]

Further both victims take vengeance, such as is left them, by citing oracles of ill-omen for Odysseus and Hecuba respectively. The latter both reply in a defiant spirit. And finally both pieces end with the weighing of the anchor and the voyage back to Greece.

Kaibel, after indicating the resemblances, points out that the scene in the Cyclops is borrowed directly from Homer, whereas that in the Hecuba is an invention of Euripides even to the name of the Thracian tyrant.

This, on the whole convincing, argument of Kaibel assigns to the Cyclops as *terminus ante quem* 425 B. C., the probable date of the Hecuba, or at any rate 424 B. C., the latest possible date for that play. Kaibel further argues that dramas with such great mutual resemblances could not have been composed except with a considerable interval between them, "da ein ordentlicher Dichter nicht leicht innerhalb so kurzer Zeit sich

[1] v. 1035.

[2] Cyclops, 666–668.

[3] Hecuba, 1039–1041. Kaibel here follows the inferior authorities which assign line 1041 to Polymestor, and so obtains lines equal in number in the respective speeches of the Cyclops and Polymestor. The sense, however, as well as the preponderance of traditional evidence is against this.

selbst wiederholen wird". This argument fails, however, if applied to such plays as the Tauric Iphigenia and the Helen, which, for all their likeness, appear to have been composed within two years of each other. A stronger argument for pushing the date of the Cyclops back before 430 and earlier still is found in the comparison which Kaibel makes between the Cyclops and the Alcestis.

In comparing Cyclops, 420–426:

ἡσθέντα δ'αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπῃσθόμην ἐγώ κ. τ. λ.,

with the scene in the Alcestis 756–764, where Admetus's servant describes the conduct of Heracles in the house of mourning, Kaibel says: "Mir scheint die Aehnlichkeit der Situation so wohl wie der Ausnutzung auf der Hand zu liegen, und ich persönlich kann mir nicht denken, dass, wer einmal ein so schönes Bild gezeichnet hatte wie das in der Alkestis, den gleichen Gegenstand bei späterer Gelegenheit so geringschätzig und fast seiner selbst vergessend hätte wieder aufnehmen sollen. Ich glaube daher dass der Kyklops älter ist als die Alkestis vom Jahre 438".

He continues with the argument: "Und je älter das Satyrdrama wird, desto weniger wird der so ärmlich gerathene Agon zwischen Odysseus und Polyphem (283) anstössig sein". He concludes with the expression of the opinion that the rhetoric of Odysseus in this scene is so weak and incomplete that it can only be explained on the ground of the unpractised hand of the poet, who could produce such different effects rhetorically in 438, when he represents the strife between Admetus and Pheres. Kaibel, therefore, puts the Cyclops before the Alcestis and among Euripides's earliest extant efforts.

In a recent edition of the Cyclops,[1] the editor, Mr. Patterson, questions the priority of the Cyclops to the Alcestis for the reason that he finds frequent parodies of the Cyclops in the Acharnians of Aristophanes and but one parody of the Alcestis in that play. He therefore argues that the Alcestis was less

[1] Cyclops, Patterson, J., Boston, 1901.

distinctly in mind with Aristophanes when he composed the Acharnians than the Cyclops, and so is earlier.

But here, as in other cases, "muss weniger gezählt als gewogen werden". The argument cited above is in itself trivial, for the dramas of Euripides, early or late, are ridiculed by Aristophanes, without regard to chronology, according as he finds them effective for his purpose. The Alcestis was always clearly enough before the mind of Aristophanes. Witness the many parodies upon it from the Acharnians down to the Frogs. Further the well-known parody of the Alcestis in line 893 of the Acharnians is absolutely unmistakable, a shameful travesty of a pathetic verse of Euripides (Alcestis, 367), whereas the parodies on lines from the Cyclops which Mr. Patterson cites from the Acharnians are without exception mere accidental verbal coincidences in ordinary colloquial expressions, which were such common property that no reminiscence could possibly be suggested by their use in the play of Aristophanes.

It appears then that, though the data for determining the time of the play are very meagre, Kaibel has discovered for it a *terminus ante quem* in the Hecuba, and is probably right in placing it before the Alcestis. The metre and style of the play are not against this theory, and in all probability the Cyclops is the earliest extant play of Euripides.

The Alcestis

The Alcestis is exactly dated by the hypothesis emanating from Aristophanes of Byzantium. He says: *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος*. The words that follow have been restored by Dindorf: *ὀλυμπιάδος πέ ἔτει δευτέρῳ*, since that was the year of the archonship of Glaucinus. The play was evidently fourth in a tetralogy, as the hypothesis states: *πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφῖδος, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκήστιδι.*

It therefore fulfilled the function of a satyr-drama like the Cyclops, but is entirely distinct in type from that play; and, in

the words of Professor Earle: "It seems just to regard this play as an attempt on Euripides's part to open a new channel for the drama".[1] Nevertheless the fact that the play is, as the hypothesis states, *σατυρικώτερον, ὅτι εἰς χαρὰν καὶ ἡδονὴν καταστρέφει παρὰ τὸ τραγικόν*, accounts for a certain degree of license in its style, although it belongs to the older and severer group of plays. It has as large a number of resolutions in the iambic trimeter as the Medea, composed seven years after it.[2] It contains the first of those *ἀμοιβαῖα* which become so characteristic of Euripidean technique that only eight of his extant dramas are without them.[3] The other dramas of the oldest group, the Medea, the Heraclidæ, and the Hippolytus do not contain such duets.[4] The duet in the Alcestis, like that in the Andromache, is epirrhematic and antistrophic, thus not approaching the irregularity of the later *ἀμοιβαῖα*.[5] The repetition of words is much more frequent in this play than in the Medea and the Heraclidæ, and in this respect the Alcestis is on a level with the Hippolytus, a play of ten years later.[6]

The technique of the play, then, taken in connection with its date, is interesting and instructive, in view of the fact that the Alcestis is a substitute for such a play as the (probably) earlier Cyclops; and yet, while widely separated from that play by its comparative rigor of composition, it does not stand entirely with the severer dramas of the oldest group which are subsequent to it in point of time.

The Medea

The date of the Medea also is fixed by information given in the hypothesis by Aristophanes of Byzantium, as follows: *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδος πζ' ἔτει ά.*

[1] Earle, Alcestis, London and New York, 1894, p. xii.
[2] Rumpel, op. cit.
[3] Masqueray, Théorie des formes lyriques de la tragédie grecque, Paris, 1895, pp. 220 ff.
[4] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 222.
[5] Fraccaroli, De Eurip. scribendi artificiis, Augustæ Taurinorum, 1885.
[6] Masqueray, op. cit., pp. 266 ff.

Πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδείᾳ, Φιλοκτήτῃ, Δίκτυι, Θερισταῖς σατύροις.

It was performed in the spring of 431 B. C., before the Spartan invasion of that year. The chorus sings, v. 826, of the *χώρας ἀπορθήτου* of the children of Erechtheus.

In every respect this play is representative of the oldest, most conservative group of plays. The iambic trimeter is strict, there are no innovations and no startling variety in the choral metres, which are chiefly dactylo-epitritic and logaœdic; there are no duets or monodies, and the *κομμός* is regularly antistrophic with anapæstic epirrhema, as in the Ajax of Sophocles and the Prometheus of Æschylus[1]. The cases of *ἐπίξευξις* are but five in number, and of these only one is in the lyric portion. Now it is in the songs that the repetition of words becomes the vice in Euripides that is ridiculed in the famous, much-cited passage in the Frogs of Aristophanes, lines 1351 ff.:

ὁ δ' ἀνέπτατ' ἀνέπτατ' εἰς αἰθέρα
κουφοτάταις πτερύγων ἀκμαῖς,
ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχε' ἄχεα κατέλιπε·

δάκρυα δάκρυά τ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
ἔβαλον ἔβαλον ἁ τλάμων.

The Medea is, then, a normal example of the poet's work in tragedy in the period in which it was composed, and a comparison of other dramas with it as a norm gives valuable means for determining the dates of some of the disputed plays[2].

The Heraclidæ

There exists no traditional testimony for the date of the Heraclidæ, and about no play of Euripides has there been more discussion. It has been assigned to years varying from 445–444 B. C. to 418–17. The character of the play accounts for

[1] Herodian, Rhet. 8, 608 Walz.
[2] Cf. for supposed political references in the play, Lloyd, The Age of Pericles, II, 377 ff.

this great variety of opinion. It is a political piece written with reference to a definite political situation at Athens, and it is the attempt to fit the temper of the play and its allusions to the history of Athens as we know it from other sources that has led to widely-differing theories of its date.

The variety of opinion is illustrated in the following table, which gives the dates advocated by scholars who have either investigated the subject independently or else have adopted the dating given by others.

Bœckh, A., Græc. Trag. Princip., 1808	Ol. 90. 3 418–17
Elmsley, ad Eur. Med. 1822	"Ex iis Euripidis fabulis quas nunc habemus quattuor sunt quæ ceteras ætate superare videntur, Medea, scilicet, Hippolytus, Alcestis, et Heraclidæ. Hæ enim numeros habent puriores et severiores."
Hermann, G., Opusc. III, p. 145,	agrees with Elmsley.
Zirndorfer, H., 1839.	Ol.88. 3 or 4 425–4
Fix, Th., 1843.	Circa Ol. 84 444
Hartung, J. A., Euripides Restitutus, p. 312.	Early years of the Peloponnesian War.
Firnhaber, 1846.	432–1, before the outbreak of the war.
Müller and Donaldson, 1858.	In Ol. 89, 421
Bernhardy, 1859.	Ol. 90, 420

Pflugk, 1867.	Between Ol. 89. 2, 3, Ol. 88. 2, 430–426
Theis, J., 1868.	Ol. 87. 2, 430
Pierron, 1869.	421
Potthast, 1872.	Ol. 87. 1, 431
Bergk, 1872.	Ol. 87. 3, 429
Paley, 1874.	418, or earlier.
Hœveler, 1874.	430
Von Wilamowitz-Mœllendorff, Analecta Euripidea. 1875.	Between 430 and 427
Jebb, R. C., Encyc. Brit., 1878.	418–417
Mahaffy, J. P., 1880.	Ol. 88–90, 428–420. "A political pamphlet directed against the Argive party in Athens, during the Peloponnesian War."
Schmidt, W., 1881.	"Non igitur ante Alcestim (Fixius) neque eo demum anno quo Boeckhius voluit hanc fabulam actam esse demonstravisse mihi videor. Potius medium inter duas definitiones tempus statuendum esse putamus."
Campbell, L.,	417

Sophocles, I 1. 275, 1881.	424–418
Jevons, F., 1886.	430–427, following Wilamowitz.
Decharme. 1893.	"Une opinion assez vraisemblable place la composition et représentation des Héraclides quelque temps après" (*i. e.*, les Suppliants).
Patin, 7th edition of Études sur les tragiques Grecs.	Probably 430 or 429
Haigh, 1894.	"Les Hér. appartient manifestement au temps de la guerre du Péloponnèse."
Croiset, 1899.	

By no means all of these expressions of opinion merit serious consideration and some of them indicate cursory reading of the play, or at least an ignorance of the contemporary political situation in Athens. For example, what can Dr. Mahaffy mean by his statement that the play is a political pamphlet directed against the Argive party in Athens during the Peloponnesian war? Here a definition of terms seems necessary. One wishes to know just what is meant by the Argive party in Athens during the Peloponnesian war. If Alcibiades and his followers are meant, the dating of Mahaffy hardly reaches the time of their activity.

Those who have studied the question more thoroughly have, for the most part, come to one of two conclusions. It is evident that the play has a political animus. The question against whom the animus is directed is of importance in determining the date. Those who take the references to Argos *au pied de la lettre* think that the play was composed in 418 B. C., or in

one of the years immediately preceding. Those who believe that the play is anti-Spartan rather than anti-Argive place it at or just before the inception of the war, or in its very early years.

Fix stands alone in placing the drama before the Peloponnesian war. His[1] arguments are — first, the metrical construction which puts the play among the earliest extant dramas of Euripides; second, the tone of the play, which he says indicates that at the time of its composition Athens was in a peaceful and flourishing state with the ancestral piety yet preserved to the degree that Euripides himself, the later free-thinker, here respects the established religion and its institutions; third, the veiled character of the attack on Sparta, which he regards as evidence that the play was written before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; fourth, the lines of the play, 1026 ff., which he regards as an "*ex eventu rei prædictio*", referring to the expedition of Plistoanax in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad. No importance is any longer attached to this opinion of Fix's, whose arguments for the most part show an inadequate conception of the play and have been easily met. It has been shown that the note of discontent and scepticism is not wanting in this play[2], and the inaptness of the oracle for the campaign of Plistoanax has been noted, as well as the pointlessness of an attempt to arouse anti-Spartan sentiment at a time when the Athenians were making the thirty years' peace with Sparta.[3] Fix's dating may therefore be disregarded. He has found no followers.

The opinion of Bœckh[4] deserves and has received more attention. It is the following: "Postremo etiam *Heraclidæ* ad res publicas pertinet: ex conviciis in Argivos ibi iactis apparet doctam esse, quum bellum Argivi pararent adversus Athenienses:

[1] Fix, Th., Euripidis Fabulæ, 1843, Præfatio, Chronologia Fabularum.
[2] Pottharst, H., De Euripidis Heraclidis, Monasterii, 1872, p. 14.
[3] Hœveler, J., De Her. Eur., Monasterii, 1868, pp. 46–47.
[4] Bœckh, A., Trag. Graec. Princ., Heidelberg, 1808, p. 190.

quod longius foret, si vellem singillatim persequi: unus sufficiat locus vs. 285.

Φθείρου· τὸ σὸν γὰρ Ἄργος οὐ δέδοικ' ἐγώ,

etc. Cf. præcipue vss. 354 sqq. 759 sqq. etc. Itaque coniicio actam tragœdiam Ol. xc, 3. quum rupto foedere Argivi pacem cum Laconibus facerent, Athenienses autem bellum inferrent, efficientibus optimatibus (Thucyd. V, 76 sq.), qui ipsi in Heraclidis Euripidis iniuriam faciunt: anno tamen proximo, restituto Argis populari imperio, cum Atheniensibus in gratiam redeunt (Thuc. V, 82. coll. Dodwell. Annal. Thucyd. p. 687) unde calculus noster fit etiam firmior."

The play, then, according to this conception of it, must have been composed in the months between the beginning of the winter of 418 B. C., and the summer of 417 B. C. At the beginning of the winter the party in Argos that was opposed to democracy and favorable to Sparta succeeded in getting its way in consequence of the disaster at Mantinea. Argos came to terms with Sparta and took up a position of hostility toward Athens. In the spring the Spartans and the Thousand Argives (*οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες*) who had fought so efficiently at Mantinea overthrew the Argive democracy, *καὶ ὀλιγαρχία ἐπιτηδεία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατέστη*.[1] This oligarchy was itself overthrown in the summer, friendly relations with Athens were resumed, and, with the help of Athenian carpenters and masons, the Argives, men and women alike, started to build a long wall down to the sea, that in case of a land attack provisions might be brought in by sea in Athenian ships. It is clear from the narration of Thucydides that the short-lived alliance with Sparta was the work of *οἱ ὀλίγοι*, whose government was legally established *πρὸς ἔαρ* and overthrown *τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους*. The disaffection toward Athens was only temporary and partial. The state of feeling at Argos must have been well understood in Athens from the time of the passing

[1] Thuc. V. 81.

of the vote to make terms with Sparta (*καὶ γενομένης πολλῆς ἀντιλογίας· ἔτυχε γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης παρών*) to the time when Athenian workmen came to help the Argives build the walls of defense.

There is nothing in the Heraclidæ that gives the slightest suggestion of this situation. The play breathes general defiance and hatred of a dramatic Argos, a literal interpretation of which is surely inappropriate at a time when the sister democracy had been forced by a disastrous defeat and by the machination of an aristocratic clique working in Sparta's interests to adopt a course of action at variance with her traditions and desire, a course speedily repudiated. That the Heraclidæ is a "Gelegenheitsstück" is absolutely evident. If written at this juncture (418 B. C.), it would seem merely to give utterance to a blind and ill-considered rage against Argos, imputing to the *δῆμος* of that hitherto friendly state the sins of the *ὀλίγοι*, whom the Argive people with good cause hated. It is clear that the interests of the Argive *δῆμος* and those of Athens were at this moment identical, and a general attack on the whole city because of the temporary policy of the minority is hardly to be thought of as emanating from Euripides at this time.

With regard to the inferences drawn from the dramatic use of Argos, Roscher[1] well says that the "Jungfrau von Orleans" gives quite as much reason for the inference that it was brought before the public during an alliance with France and a war with England.

The case is quite different with the references to Sparta in the Andromache and to Thebes in the Suppliants. There the use of the names is no longer dramatic and vicarious, but corresponds to the facts. But besides the political consideration there is an absolute proof that the Heraclidæ was composed before 422 B. C. in the fact that a line of the Heraclidæ is parodied in a line of the Wasps of Aristophanes, brought out in that

[1] Roscher, W., Leben und Zeitalter des Thukydides, Göttingen, 1842, pp. 543–544.

year. There can be no doubt that the line in question (Wasps 1160) *ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῆ καττύματα* is a caricature of *ἐχθροῦ λέοντος δυσμενῆ* (Stephanus for codd. *δυσγενῆ*) *βλαστήματα*; for not only is the cadence of the two lines the same, but two strikingly Euripidean mannerisms are parodied, namely his love for the word *δυσμενής* and his use of the plural of abstract nouns in *-μα* — a characteristic of his style often ridiculed by Aristophanes. Cf. Ach. 426, *πεπλώματα*: 432, *ῥακώματα*: Frogs, 1315, *πηνίσματα*: Thesm., 1116, *νοσήματα*.[1]

This line of Aristophanes then is sufficient to show that the play cannot be anti-Argive, since it must have been composed before 422 B. C., before any unfriendliness had arisen between Athens and Argos. We may therefore turn our attention to the theories of the critics who have fixed upon a date at or near the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, noting first one other opinion, that of Zirndorfer, who holds that the play was composed in 425–424 B. C.[2] His position is entirely untenable, but deserves mention as an *exemplum in terrorem* of subjective theorizing without regard to facts. He makes a division of Euripides's plays into three periods, those of the first being characterized by few metrical resolutions, a single action, and a tragic outcome: those of the third by many metrical resolutions, a double action and a happy ending; those of the second intermediate in all these respects — in point of metre, in hovering between a double and a single action, and in having an ending neither decidedly happy nor decidedly unhappy. He cites four dramas that support his theory, the Medea, the Hippolytus, the Helena, and the Orestes.[3] He finds that in Æschylus only tragic endings (*sic*) are usual and sees in this a degeneration in the development of Euripides's dramatic genius.

In the second of these arbitrary classes he puts the Heraclidæ. This period extends from 428 to 408. The Heraclidæ he

[1] Cf. Fraccaroli, p. 31.
[2] Zirndorfer, H., De Chron. Fab. Eur., Marburg, 1837.
[3] See Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

holds was produced in 425 B. C., and the purpose of the play was to urge peace with Sparta. The Heraclidæ typify the Spartans. Roscher's comment on this theory is eminently to the point:[1]

"Ist es möglich flacher und unbegründlicher zu räsonniren? Der ganze Vorgang der im Stücke geschildert wird, hat mit dem Friedensgesuche von Sphakteria doch auch nicht die mindeste Aehnlichkeit: und ich zweifle sehr, dass doch irgend ein Athener solche Anspielung würde verstanden haben."

Roscher[2] believes that the play was composed in 432 B. C., at the time when the envoys of Corcyra and Corinth were in Athens urging their respective causes. He compares with the action of the play the account of the alliance with Corcyra given in the first book of Thucydides and sees in the Heraclidæ persecuted by their kinsfolk the Corcyræans persecuted by their mother-city Corinth. He finds in the fact that the Peloponnesian states sided with Corinth a likeness between the situation of Corinth, destitute of Peloponnesian allies, and the Heraclidæ,

πάσης δὲ χώρας Ἑλλάδος τητώμενοι (v. 31).

He sees in Copreus, the herald of Eurystheus, the Corinthian ambassadors, and he believes that the Corinthians threatened, while the Corcyræans appealed chiefly to the independence and honor of Athens.

But the attitude of the Corcyræans as seen in their speech given in Thuc. I, 32 ff. is by no means that of "Schutzflehende". They offer an alliance the solid advantages of which they do not scruple fully to set forth[3]:

καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα εἰ ἦν ὑμεῖς ἂν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγ-

[1] Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 554.
[2] Roscher, W., op. cit., Ueber die Aufführungszeit der Her.
[3] Thuc. I, 32, Cf. schol., *ἡ τοῦ Κερκυραίου δημηγορία μᾶλλον τὸ συμφέρον προβάλλεται ἢ τὸ δίκαιον.*

γελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἰσχύν.

Compare the tone of the whole passage.

Considering the spirit here shown, it would seem to have required quite as much mental agility on the part of the Athenians to see Corcyræans in the Heraclidæ as to see in them the Lacedæmonians of Zirndorfer's theory. Moreover in the speech of the Corinthians as reported by Thucydides there is quite as much of appeal to Athenian honor, as in that of the Corcyræans, who indeed, as the scholiast remarks, base their argument chiefly on the advantage to be gained by alliance with them.

Roscher thinks that the appearance of the suppliant Heraclidæ on the stage must have been most effective in the presence of the Corcyræan ambassadors; but, considering the attitude of both embassies, it must have been difficult for the audience to decide just which side the Heraclidæ symbolized, and their renowned ὀξύτης must have had special demands made on it, if, as Roscher will have it, the clue to the significance of the Heraclidæ is given in line 84 by the assertion of Iolaus,

οὐ νησιώτην, ὦ ξένοι, τρίβω βίον,

"denn die Inselbewohner lagen jedermann im Sinne". This "lucus a non lucendo" sort of information could have been clear to the audience, it would seem, only if we assume that Euripides's allusions were always to be taken in a Pickwickian sense. Roscher has not succeeded in showing the analogy between the condition of the Heraclidæ and that of the Corcyræans.

Firnhaber[1] puts the play in 432–1, before the outbreak of the war. His opinion is: "Euripides igitur Heraclidas excogitavit, composuit, docuit postquam ultimi legati Peloponnesiorum Athenis commorati Spartam redierunt, scripsitque ea mente ut summi Periclis, cuius dum vivebat partes sequebatur,

[1] Firnhaber, De tempore quo Heraclidæ et composuisise et docuisse Euripides videatur, Wiesbaden, 1846.

consilia quæ essent e re publica persuaderet, quam iniusta postularent Lacedæmonii ingrati ostenderet, quæcumque et populo et magistratibus molienda iam essent doceret, et feliciter Athenas ex instanti bello exituras esse prædiceret." He believes the prophecy at the end of the play to be not a prophecy *ex eventu*, but a true prophecy based on an earlier invasion of Attica. He also finds certain resemblances between the expressions of the play and those used by Pericles in the speech recorded by Thucydides in I, 140–144, and believes that Euripides had the desire to remind the Athenians of the words of Pericles. And further: "Euripides id quod Pericles non fecerat nec facere potuerat ut de se ipse tuendo in illa oratione loqueretur in se quodam modo recepit, et ita perfecit ut neque respublica a se civis animum neque Pericles amicum desideraret."

In representing Euripides as the friend and advocate of Pericles he is not consistent and assigns to the poet the difficult rôle of essaying to strengthen Pericles with the people and at the same time castigating him for the faults of his private life.

He says in reference to verses 299–301,

ὃς δὲ νικηθεὶς πόθῳ
κακῶς ἐκοίνωνησεν οὐκ ἐπαινέσω
τέκνοις ὄνειδος οὔνεχ' ἡδονῆς λιπεῖν,

"non infitior si qui sunt qui poetam isto versu, τέκνοις ὄνειδος οὔνεχ' ἡδονῆς λιπεῖν, ipsum Periclem paulisper tetigisse credant quasi tempus iam esset deponendi amoris nec civi nec seni nec temporibus convenientis bellique omnibus viribus curandi."

The likenesses which he points out between the Heraclidæ and the speech of Pericles are merely verbal and accidental: for example, he compares Heraclidæ 84,

οὐ νησιώτην, ὦ ξένοι, τρίβω βίον,

with Thucydides I, 143.5 εἰ γὰρ ἦμεν νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ἦσαν;

Firnhaber's tendency to catch at a single word is illustrated by the fact that he finds the original of the parodying line in the Knights of Aristophanes (214),

τάραττε καὶ χόρδευ' ὅμως τὰ πράγματα,

in line 109 of the Heraclidæ,

καλὸν δέ γ' ἔξω πραγμάτων ἔχειν πόδα.

With regard to his contention that the prophecy at the end is not *ex eventu*, but a real prophecy, it may be granted that such a prophecy is *a priori* perfectly possible. But it is evident from the whole play that Athens is no longer the *ἀπόρθητος χώρα* of the Medea. The description of the invasion is realistic and bears out the details of the first invasion. Moreover the prophecy would have more dramatic value if based on recent events than if it rested merely on a surmise. Potthast follows Firnhaber in his conception of the play. In fact he transcribes Firnhaber's opinion literally and accepts it. Firnhaber has not succeeded in proving the relations which he assumes to have existed between Pericles and Euripides from the evidence before us in this play, and he has also failed to establish his dating, 432 B. C., on any other grounds.

Theis urges the same point of view in defense of the date 430 as Firnhaber for 432, namely:[1]

"ut Periclem purget et ostendat suo iure bellum suasisse dignumque fuisse maiorum gloria quod Athenienses bellum susceperint — et respicit poeta Periclem ac statum rei publicæ dicens (Her. 415–19)

καὶ νῦν πικρὰς ἂν συστάσεις ἂν εἰσίδοις
τῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὡς δίκαιον ἦν ξένοις
ἱκέταις ἀρήγειν, τῶν δὲ μωρίαν ἐμὴν
κατηγορούντων· εἰ δὲ μὴ δράσω τάδε
οἰκεῖος ἤδη πόλεμος ἐξαρτύεται.

[1] Theis, J., De Eur. Her., Monasterii, 1868.

Ut in fabula Demophon Iolao miseram suam conditionem explicat, ita ante spectatorum oculos proponitur Periclis causa".

Grote[1] makes the same comparison between Thucydides, II, 21, 3, *κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν οἱ μὲν κελεύοντες ἐξιέναι, οἱ δέ τινες οὐκ ἐῶντες*, and the verses quoted above.

Theis as well as Firnhaber has put a double-edged weapon into the hand of Euripides, for he understands that in verses 423 ff., "Euripides Periclem vituperare videtur". He believes that here Euripides wishes to rebuke Pericles, because, according to Thuc. II, 22, he allowed no assemblies to be held. This he says Thucydides, with his aristocratic political sentiments, seems to approve of. According to Theis Euripides, "potestatis popularis amicus", criticises this as unworthy of Athens and its ruler. But *ἐὰν ἄδηλον σάλπιγξ φωνὴν δῷ, τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς πόλεμον*; The position of Pericles before the people would hardly be strengthened by a play, which, according to the interpretation of Firnhaber and Theis, now praised him and now joined with his enemies in bitter attacks on his morals or his policy.

In his further argument Theis well compares the narrative of Thucydides II, 10, 12, 18, with Heraclidæ 276–279,

μύριοι δέ με
μένουσιν ἀσπιστῆρες Εὐρυσθεὺς δ' ἄναξ
αὐτὸς στρατηγῶν· Ἀλκάθου δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις
καραδοκῶν τἀνθένδε τέρμασι μένει,

and with Heraclidæ 393–397,

πεδία μὲν οὖν γῆς εἰς τάδ' οὐκ ἐφῆκέ πω
στρατόν, λεπαίαν δ' ὀφρύην καθήμενος
σκοπεῖ, δόκησιν δὴ τόδ' ἂν λέγοιμί σοι,
ποίᾳ προσάξει στρατόπεδον τ' ἄνευ δορὸς
ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τε τῆσδ' ἱδρύσεται χθονός.

[1] Grote, History of Greece, VI, p. 132, foot-note.

Of these passages he says, "facile credas accommodatam esse hanc descriptionem ad veram Lacedæmoniorum irruptionem: quare inde etiam conicias haud multo post bellum exortum scriptam esse fabulam". He further makes very probable conjectures in referring to v. 257,

σὺ δ' ἐξόριζε, κᾆτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἄξομεν,

to τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος related in Thuc. I, 128, and in seeing an allusion to the affair at Platææ in 431 B. C. and the Athenian message in verse 966,

οὐχ ὅν τιν' ἄν γε ζῶνθ' ἕλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

He makes the point with regard to the prophecy of verses 1032–36 that it would have been a dangerous matter to make a prophecy of this sort before the event, which could so easily have belied the poet's words. He goes on to point out that the oracle could not have been invented by Euripides in the sad years that followed, with the plague, the consequent social degeneration, the accusation against Pericles, and his death. This, he says, would have been no time for a joyful prophecy. Finally he refers to the sparing of the Tetrapolis by the Spartans as related by Diodorus Siculus (XII, 45) and by the scholiast on Oedipus Coloneus, v. 701, and argues that because of this action on the part of the Spartans Euripides invented the oracle. He concludes: "Huic vero fictioni nullum tempus magis opportunum esse potuit quam Ol. 87, 2".

The next to discuss the subject is Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in his Analecta Euripidea. He says:[1] "At certius eam definit vaticinium Eurysthei 1027 sqq. inrupturos esse olim Heraclidas i. e. Spartanos in Atticam: et invaserunt 431, 430, 428, 427, 425. si ultra Pallenen prodire voluissent, fore, ut vincerentur. at anno 427 omnes Atticæ partes, etiam quibus antea pepercerunt, impune devastarunt. pepercerant autem, ceteris vastatis anno 430, (Thuc. II. 57) tetrapoli Diodor.

[1] Op. cit. p. 152.

XII. 45. 1. itaque post 430 ante 427 (æstatem) Heraclidæ docta est: nam certissima lex est, vaticiniorum ea quæ rata fuerint post eventum data esse, ea quæ data essent fefellisse. hæc, satis obvia profecto, nemodum palam protulisse videtur."

This argument is accepted by Decharme as absolutely decisive for the date of the play.[1] But it is only by dint of misquoting Euripides and misapplying Diodorus that Wilamowitz has arrived at this "obvious" conclusion. In the lines 1030ff.,

θανόντα γάρ με θάψαθ' οὗ τὸ μόρσιμον
δίας πάροιθε παρθένου Παλληνίδος,
καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὔνους καὶ πόλει σωτήριος
μέτοικος αἰεὶ κείσομαι κατὰ χθονός,
τοῖς τῶνδε δ' ἐγγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος
ὅταν μόλωσι δεῦρο σὺν πολλῇ χερί,

there is only the prophecy that the Spartans shall one day invade Attica and find a bitter enemy in Eurystheus, who will be an ally of the Athenians. Nothing is said of a defeat of the Spartans in case they advance beyond Pallene, although Wilamowitz puts this in his text in such wise as to imply that it is contained in the prophecy.

The account given by Diodorus (XII, 45) is this: μετὰ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπιπορευόμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐδενδροτόμουν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐνεπύριζον καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν γῆν ἐλυμήναντο πλὴν τῆς καλουμένης Τετραπόλεως· ταύτης δ' ἀπέσχετο διὰ τὸ τοὺς προγόνους ἐνταῦθα κατῳκηκέναι καὶ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα νενικηκέναι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκ ταύτης ποιησαμένους· δίκαιον γὰρ ἡγοῦντο τοῖς εὐηργετηκόσι τοὺς προγόνους παρὰ τῶν ἐκγόνων τὰς προσηκούσας εὐεργεσίας ἀπολαμβάνειν.

So the scholiast on Soph. Œd. Col., 701: Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν δῃοῦντες τῆς μὲν Τετραπόλεως ἀπέσχοντο διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας.

[1] Decharme, Euripide et l'esprit de son théatre, 1893, p. 195.

Here as elsewhere, with the exception of the play of Euripides, there is no mention of any mythical alliance between Eurystheus and the Athenians. On the other hand it is evident that the Athenians regarded their hostility to him and their victory over him as a reason for Spartan gratitude toward them. Cf. Herodotus, IX, 27, and Isocrates, Panegyricus, 56–60.

The scruples which led the Spartans to spare the places where their ancestors had been befriended would be intelligible to all the Greeks, and Herodotus in his ninth book,[1] which he wrote in the early years of the Peloponnesian war,[2] recounts similar proceedings with regard to Decelea, because of Decelean aid afforded the Tyndaridæ at the time of the rape of Helen by Theseus. And before the first Spartan invasion, Pericles, fearing that prejudice might be aroused against him by a sparing of his lands by his friend king Archidamus, explained the situation in the assembly and presented his lands and buildings to the state.[3]

It is not reasonable to suppose that Euripides would offer in explanation of the Lacedæmonian sparing of special places, the motive for which was clear to all and rested on a *κοινὸς Ἑλλήνων νόμος*, the vengeance of the dead Eurystheus, so suddenly converted to an Athenian alliance. Another symbolism is to be sought here.

An argument brought forward by Hoeveler,[4] and Schmidt[5] against Wilamowitz's theory is a strong one: "Exiguam profecto civibus suis Atheniensibus Eurystheus gratiam habuisset, si toti Tetrapoli ab hostibus parci voluisset, reliquam autem Atticam impune devastandam iis permisisset."[6] Eurystheus promises that he will be *πολεμιώτατος* to the Spartans.[7] This

[1] Hdt., IX, 73.
[2] Kirchhoff, Ueber die Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtwerkes, Berlin, 1872.
[3] Thuc., II, 13.
[4] Hoeveler, J., De Heraclidis Euripidis, Monasterii, 1878, p. 48.
[5] Schmidt, W., Qua ratione Eur. res sua ætate adhibuerit in Her., Halis Saxonum, 1881, p. 34.
[6] Hoeveler, cited also by Schmidt.
[7] Her., v. 1034.

promise, if referred, as it is by Wilamowitz, to the campaign down to 427, was most ineffectually fulfilled. Eurystheus was then content to protect his own tomb and its immediate surroundings — a selfish policy. The Athenians had the right, from his promise, to expect better things of him. For in the second invasion, to which Wilamowitz refers this promise *ex eventu*, the whole country was ravaged by the Spartans (except the Tetrapolis, according to Diodorus), and they remained about forty days, which was the longest stay they made before the fortifying of Decelea. The distress caused by this campaign was the greatest of any, for even the campaign of 427, the *terminus ad quem* of Wilamowitz's dating, in which the Spartans were no longer withheld from ravaging by religious scruples, is said by Thucydides to have been *χαλεπωτάτη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν*.[1]

Wilamowitz's reasoning, then, is not sound. He has read into the oracle the part of the prophecy on which his argument turns and has assigned too special an interpretation to the general terms in which Eurystheus expresses himself. He has laid too much stress on the sparing of certain places, which in the general devastation and horror of the war would have counted for little with the Athenians. Such an oracle as Wilamowitz takes this to be would surely have seemed trivial and absurd to the Athenians in the years between 430 and 427. It is precisely in those years that such an oracle could not have been invented.

One more discussion of the date of the play remains to be considered, that of Hoeveler.[2] He agrees with Theis in placing the composition of the play between the first invasion of the Spartans in 431 and the second in 430. His argument turns on the applicability of the prophecy of Eurystheus to the first Spartan invasion and its inapplicability to the second. He sees in the fruitless attack on Oenoe, in the fact that the Spartans did

[1] Thuc., III, 26.
[2] Hoeveler, De Heraclidis Euripidis, 1878.

not venture to descend to the plain, and in the not greatly disastrous cavalry skirmish, a fulfilment of Eurystheus's promise. He argues that such a cheerful oracle could not have been invented in the time of which Thucydides writes *τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνῃσκόντων και γῆς ἔξω δῃουμένης.*[1] He holds, then, that the play was brought before the public either at the Lenæa or at the Great Dionysiac festival in the year 430 B. C.

I concur with Theis and Hoeveler in the belief that the play can be definitely dated in the year 431–430, after the first invasion of the Spartans in 431 and before the second invasion in 430. I cannot, however, agree with them in their main arguments. Theis follows in the steps of Firnhaber in forcing allusions to Pericles, which at least cannot be proved and are often inconsistent, while both Theis and Hoeveler have, with all the other critics, attached too much weight in my opinion to the importance of the prophecy at the end as a factor in determining the date. I find that the following points in the arguments of Theis and Hoeveler are strong: the comparison made by Theis between the details of the first Spartan invasion and those of the Argive invasion in the Heraclidæ, and the point made by Hoeveler that the promise of help from Eurystheus was not appropriate in the wretched years 430–427.

Besides this the play appears to me to reflect to a remarkable degree what we know from other sources of the first year of the Peloponnesian war. I do not believe that it is at all possible to write a key to the Heraclidæ by which all the characters and situations may be elucidated as having definite references. But I hold that, in a general way, one may see mirrored to a striking degree in this play the Athenian feeling and Athenian conditions in the time just following the first Spartan invasion. The play is, no less than the Suppliants, an *ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν*. Its tone is not that which suits a city that had suffered what Athens suffered in the years after 430. The awful plague, re-

[1] Thuc., II., 54.

flected so powerfully in the Oedipus Tyrannus,[1] the universal misery and corruption that ensued, the death of Pericles to which such touching reference is made at the end of the Hippolytus — none of these tragic events finds an echo in the heroics of the Heraclidæ. It is a political play written in the first year of the war, before the horrors of the war had been realized, and so it does not bear the impress of that bitter thirst for revenge and keen anguish for losses suffered that give the Suppliants and even the Andromache, "Gelegenheitsstücke" though they are, a deeper pathos and a more lasting worth. The *ἦθος* of the play is defiance and self-assertion on the part of Athens.

The motives of the play are contained in such lines as

(1) *φθείρου· τὸ σὸν γὰρ Ἄργος οὐ δέδοικ' ἐγώ,*
ἐνθένδε δ' οὐκ ἔμελλες αἰσχύνας ἐμὲ
ἄξειν βίᾳ τούσδ', οὐ γὰρ Ἀργείων πόλιν
ὑπήκοον τήνδ' ἀλλ' ἐλευθέραν ἔχω.[2]

(2) *ἀεί ποθ' ἥδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις*
σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βούλεται προσωφελεῖν.
τοιγὰρ πόνους δὴ μυρίους ὑπὲρ φίλων
ἤνεγκε καὶ νῦν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ὁρῶ πέλας·[3]

(3) *νικωμένη γὰρ Παλλὰς οὐκ ἀνέξεται.*[4]

The tone is that of a people stung to anger, who have not as yet received any overwhelming reverse, who have a boundless pride in their city and take the position of protectors of the oppressed and helpless. There are plenty of passages in the second book of Thucydides to indicate that these were the feelings prevailing in Athens in the first year of the war, notably passages in the Funeral Oration.

I am very far from feeling with Firnhaber that Euripides

[1] O. T., vv. 150–215.
[2] Heracl. vv. 284 ff.
[3] Heracl., vv. 329 ff.
[4] Heracl., v. 352.

was the dramatic mouth-piece of Pericles, and I find of no moment the parallels which Firnhaber draws between the first speech of Pericles and the Heraclidæ. A far greater similarity exists between the Funeral Oration and the Heraclidæ, both in tone and phrase, and I think it by no means beyond the range of probability that the speaker who alone of the speakers of his day *τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις*, whose marvellous speech delivered on the threshold of the war remains to-day the classic of such speeches, should have inspired by his eloquence to such an effort as that made in the Heraclidæ the poet in whose work eloquent speeches play so large a part. It does not seem altogether fanciful to think that the speech of Pericles lingered, perhaps unconsciously, in the memory of Euripides, and that it is here and there reproduced — *quam longo intervallo!* — in the Heraclidæ.

The *ἐλευθερία* of Athens is one of the recurring notes in the Heraclidæ. Cf. lines 113, 198, 287. This is also among the earliest motives of the Funeral Oration. Cf. *τὴν γὰρ χώραν ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. . . . καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην.*[1] Add also II, 43, 4 *τὸ ἐλεύθερον κ. τ. λ.* Again the Athenian democracy is described in the speech of Pericles: *καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται κ. τ. λ.*[2]

In similar wise Demophon:

> *οὐ γὰρ τυραννίδ' ὥστε βαρβάρων ἔχω,*
> *ἀλλ' ἣν δίκαια δρῶ, δίκαια πείσομαι.*[3]

In the same chapter Pericles speaks of the laws which are ordained for the protection of the innocent, especially the unwritten laws, *ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι.* To these unwritten laws, the *κοινοὶ Ἑλλήνων νόμοι*, there is frequent appeal in the Heraclidæ; *e. g.*, v. 131, *τὰ δ' ἔργα βαρβάρου χερὸς τάδε*; vv. 236–245; v. 254; v. 1010, *τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις*; vv. 961, 964, 966, *et pass.*

Again in commemorating the fallen, Pericles says: *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν.*

This is comparable to lines 199 ff. of the Heraclidæ:

> *ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἐγώ, τὸ τῶνδε λῆμα καὶ φύσιν*
> *θνῄσκειν θελήσουσ'· ἡ γὰρ αἰσχύνη πάρος*
> *τοῦ ζῆν παρ' ἐσθλοῖς ἀνδράσιν νομίζεται.*

Immediately thereafter stands,

> *πόλιν μὲν ἀρκεῖ· καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίφθονον*
> *λίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἐστι.*

The same thought occurs in the prologue of the funeral speech II, 35, 2: *μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσε· τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φρονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν.*

The boast of Pericles in II, 40, 4, *οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους . . . καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινα ὠφελοῦμεν*, is the course scoffed at by the Argive herald in lines 176 ff.,

> *μηδ' ὅπερ φιλεῖτε δρᾶν,*
> *πάθῃς σὺ τοῦτο, τοὺς ἀμείνονας παρὸν*
> *φίλους ἐλέσθαι, τοὺς κακίονας λάβῃς,*

and praised by the chorus in lines 329 ff.

> *ἀεί ποθ' ἥδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις κ. τ. λ.*

[1] Thuc., II, 36.
[2] Thuc., II, 37.
[3] Heracl., vv. 424 ff.

The sentiment of II, 43, 6:

ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητοςθάνατος,

has much in common with Macaria's speech in lines 500 ff.

Again the thought is the same in II, 45, 2:
καὶ ἧς ἅνεπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ and in Heraclidæ, lines 476–77:

> *γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγή τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν*
> *κάλλιστον, εἴσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων.*[1]

The resemblance in this last generalization and other resemblances in word and thought that could be pointed out are in all probability accidental, but the fact that the exaltation of the virtues of Athens and the sweetness of death in her service are the leading themes of both speech and play seems to me to indicate that they were composed in the same year, though not necessarily with any conscious or unconscious connection. This is, of course, assuming, what I believe to be the fact, that Thucydides reports to us the substance of what Pericles actually said on this occasion. I believe that it is clear from both the speech and the play that they were composed at a time when patriotism was most conscious of itself, and before the strain of the war had been felt to any such exhausting degree as that which is evident in the next recorded speech of Pericles and in the Suppliants and the Andromache of Euripides.

I have already noticed the comparison which Theis so well makes between the details of the first Spartan invasion as described by Thucydides and the Argive invasion in the Heraclidæ. It might be added that lines 385 ff.,

> *ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εὐτυχὴς τὰ πρόσθεν ὤν κ. τ. λ.,*

might very well have brought King Archidamus to mind.

[1] *Cf.* Aesch. Septem., 232.

Another occurrence of these years seems to me to be reflected in this play — the opening act in the drama of the war.[1] The Thebans had treacherously seized Platææ, the Platæans standing by the Athenian alliance had resisted them and finally made prisoners of the invaders, whom they killed, contrary to agreement, after the main body of the Theban army had withdrawn from Platæan territory and the Platæans had got their property in from the country. The Platæans sent the news of their victory to Athens, whence the message came to spare the Theban prisoners. This was, of course, too late. Then an Athenian army came to Platææ, got in the harvest for them, and conveyed to Athens the helpless among the Platæans, old men, women and children.

In his note on Thuc. II, 40, 4, *οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τούς φίλους*, Classen says: "Beispiele zu der von Pericles hier gerühmten Politik Athens wird nicht so leicht sein aufzuweisen . . . Vielleicht mochte Kerkyra, Platäa, Leontini, Egesta vorschweben; doch ist nicht zu verkennen, dass die hier bezeichnete Gesinnung mehr in Perikles' Auffassung, als in der realen Ausführung begründet war." This idealized conception of her political motives was characteristically Athenian, as it is characteristically English to-day. (Cf. Beck on lines 328–9: "a couplet which gives noble and epigrammatic expression to a principle of action which our own country has boasted to be her traditional aim".)

In the case of Platææ there seems to have been a genuine interest and affection on the part of the Athenians toward the little, friendly city which had given itself to them (519 B. C.: Thuc. III, 68, 510, Grote, Busolt) in the last years of the sixth century. And Athens had already done something for them: *καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο.*[2]

It is a pretty tale in Herodotus VI, 111, that ever after the

[1] Thuc. II, 1 ff.
[2] Hdt. VI, 108.

battle of Marathon, where the Platæans stood with their little army beside the Athenians, at all sacred Athenian festivals the Athenian herald prayed that the Platæans might be blest as well as the Athenians. And after the destruction of their city in 427 the Platæans received in many respects the rights of Athenian citizens (Lys. XXIII) and were afterwards allotted Scione (Thuc. V, 32). They fought in the Athenian army in the great Syracusan struggle also. It seems to me natural, and in fact inevitable, that the Platæan *ἀμήχανοι* in their midst should be brought to the mind of the Athenians by such lines as

ἀεί ποθ' ἥδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις κ. τ. λ.[1]

and many other lines referring to protection of the weak and helpless. Here was something tangible at which the Athenians could point. Here were helpless ones who had actually found a shelter and defense in Athens.

I do not go so far as to maintain that Iolaus represents the helpless old men from Platææ; Alcmena and Macaria, the women, and the rest of the Heraclidæ, the children; though I think they would fill the rôles quite as effectively as would Spartans after Sphacteria or Corcyræan ambassadors in the year 432. My argument is that while no one definite interpretation of the suppliant Heraclidæ can be given that will fit historical and dramatic details exactly, yet the most tangible instance of Athenian generosity and hospitality to which Athens could point was there within her walls, at the time at which this play was brought out, in the representatives of the little state which Athens, for whatever motive, had often befriended and sincerely liked. Truly the thought of these homeless Platæans must have come to the minds of those who listened to

ὦ παῖδες ἐς μὲν πεῖραν ἤλθομεν φίλων,
ἥν δ' οὖν ποθ' ὑμῖν νόστος ἐς πάτραν φανῇ

[1] Heracl. vv. 329 ff.

καὶ δώματ' οἰκήσητε καὶ τιμὰς πατρός,
σωτῆρας ἀεὶ καὶ φίλους νομίζετε
καὶ μήποτ' ἐς γῆν ἐχθρὸν αἴρεσθαι δόρυ,
μεμνημένοι τῶνδ', ἀλλὰ φιλτάτην πόλιν
πασῶν νομίζετ'. ἄξιοί γ' ὑμῖν σέβειν
οἳ γῆν τοσήνδε καὶ Πελασγικὸν λεὼν
ἡμῶν ὑπηλλάξαντο πολεμίους ἔχειν
πτωχοὺς ἀλήτας εἰσορῶντες.[1]

I do not find this reference to the Platæan refugees suggested in any of the discussions of the play. Theis[2] does refer lines 961 and 966 to the murder of the captive Thebans by the Platæans as well as to the monstrous deeds of Athenians and Spartans related in Thuc. II, 67. I believe that the reference is rather to the act of the Platæans and the fruitless message of clemency sent from Athens. The parallel seems to me an exact one. As the Platæans in their rage repaid treachery by treachery and murdered their Theban foes, who had wronged them so bitterly, so Alcmena, kinswoman of the Heraclidæ, breaks the unwritten laws of Hellas, in murdering their enemy, Eurystheus, who has persecuted her and hers. But Athens, the protector of Platæans and Heraclidæ has clean hands in both affairs. This I take to be the poet's meaning.

There remains the prophecy of Eurystheus, the point of which has generally been found in the supposed reference to the sparing in the Spartan raids of places where ancestors of the Spartans had been befriended. I have already given my reasons for regarding this reference as inadequate. My own conception of its significance is this. The prophecy is, of course, *ex eventu*. The whole play shows that Attica has been invaded. I think that the oracle plainly has two motives: one, to prophesy *ex eventu* the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war and the invasion of Attica by the ungrateful Spartan descendants of the Heraclidæ; the second, to show a dramatic

[1] Heracl. vv. 309 ff.
[2] Theis, op. cit. p. 28.

change of heart toward Argos. At the end of the play political motives come quite undisguisedly to the fore. The future hostility of descendants of the Heraclidæ is foretold and so the Argive king is suddenly converted into an Athenian ally. In the early years of the Peloponnesian war Argos almost alone of the Peloponnesian states refused to stand against Athens, and later in the war she was her ally.[1] This, in my opinion, is the burden of the oracle, a foretelling of Spartan enmity and Argive friendliness in the Peloponnesian war.

Euripides has, then, used this old myth of the Heraclidæ and their kindly reception in Athens to emphasize the enlightened and civilized position of Athens in that policy of helping the weak, to the utilitarian side of which expression is given by Alcibiades in the speech delivered in reply to Nicias in the final discussion of the Syracusan expedition:[1] *τήν τε ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἦρξαν, παραγιγνόμενοι προθύμως τοῖς ἀεὶ ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ Ἕλλησιν ἐπικαλουμένοις.*

To point this motive of Euripides's play there was an example for the Athenians in the presence of men, women, and children from Platææ, which in the city would vivify many a reference in the play to the homeless and defenceless and to the duty of protecting such.

I hold, therefore, that Euripides wrote his Heraclidæ in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, after the affair at Platææ, to which I see undoubted reference in the play, after the first invasion of the Spartans under Archidamus, which is reproduced in the Argive invasion in the Heraclidæ, and probably after the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles in the winter of 431. The play is most truly a "Gelegenheitsstück".

In the discussion of the date of the Heraclidæ the argument turns chiefly on the interpretation of the political character and allusions of the play, in which point even those who agree substantially or entirely in the dating of the play are led to their conclusions by different and often opposing inferences.

[1] Thuc. II, 9.
[2] Thuc. VI., 18, 2.

It should be noted, however, that those who, like Boeckh, put the play in the second decade of the Peloponnesian war entirely ignore the changes in Euripides's technique, whether we call them development or degeneration, which can be traced with absolute certainty in the extant plays. To quote Wilamowitz's statement of the case:[1] "eine anzahl von dramen des Euripides weisen sich durch einen gemeinsamen altertümlicheren und strengeren stil als verwandt aus; es sind Alkestis, Medeia Hippolytos Andromache Herakleiden. sie fallen alle teils nach urkundlichen angaben, teils nach sicheren geschichtlichen anspielungen vor 425". Although, in my opinion, the Andromache is to be taken from this group and placed in the second decade of the war, there can be no doubt about the older fashioned and austerer style in language and metre of the other four mentioned here by Wilamowitz.

The comparative shortness of the play as it stands cannot be urged, it may be said, because of the probable fact that there was originally after line 629 a *κομμός*, which is now wanting.[2] But even with the addition of a proportionate *κομμός*, besides a messenger's narrative, the play would still stand with the older dramas in this regard. In the matter of resolutions in the iambic trimeter it is on a level with the Alcestis, the Medea, and the Hippolytus. Cf. Rumpel: "Noch viel weniger (*i. e.*, auflösungen) haben Heracliden, Medea, Alcestis, und Hippolyt, welche mit einer auflösung auf $16\frac{1}{2}$ trimeter den beschluss macht".[3]

The choral metres are simple and but little varied. The dactylic theme prevails. In the construction of the lyric parts there are none of the later innovations. Monodies and duets do not appear at all. The *κομμός*, the construction of which is often an indication of date, is lost from this play. In language sense is not yet dominated by sound. The cases of *ἐπίζευξις*

[1] Heracles, 1895, I, p. 143.
[2] Hermann, cf. Matthiæ, VIII, p. 257. Kirchhoff, Her., v. 629.
[3] Rumpel, Philol., 23, 1866.

are therefore rare, as in the earlier extant plays of Sophocles (except the Ajax). There are, indeed, but two instances of it, if one omit interjections, of the repetition of which there are also two instances. Neither of the examples (lines 48 and 449) occurs in a lyrical part, as is the rule in the later plays. Of course it must be said that the *κομμός*, if extant, would doubtless add to the number of repetitions, but it is of significance that there is no case of it in the songs preserved. Of the relevancy of the choral songs to the situation, Arnoldt says: "Die Stasima, welche der Chor singt, sind sämmtlich ganz wohl im Einklange mit der jeweiligen Situation erfunden und ausgeführt".[1] The metrical and stylistic tests applied to the Heraclidæ bear out the conclusions of the interpretation of the political aspect of the play.

It is the opinion of Wilamowitz not only that the play as it has reached us is in a mutilated state, but that this mutilation was intentional, the work of a reviser of the fourth century, who cut up the *παλαιὰ τραγῳδία* for the practical needs of his theatrical troupe. As this theory does not in its working out attempt to do away with any of the portions of importance for the dating, unlike the similar attempt of Rassow with regard to the Hecuba, the discussion of it is not germane to the subject in hand. I mention the theory only to express my entire dissent from the conclusions reached by it.[2]

The Hippolytus

The date of the Hippolytus is fixed by the argument: *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Ἐπαμείνονος ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι πζ΄ ἔτει δ΄· πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης, δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν, τρίτος Ἴων.*

The closing words of the play are a fine reference to the loss of Pericles, whose death occurred shortly before the appearance of the play. The lines call to mind Thucydides's statement that

[1] Arnoldt, R., Die chorische Technik des Eur., Halle, 1878.
[2] Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hermes 17, pp. 345 ff.

Pericles was still more highly appreciated in Athens after his death than during his life.[1]

ὦ κλεὶν' Ἀθηνῶν Παλλάδος θ' ὁρίσματα,
οἵου στερήσεσθ' ἀνδρός. ὤ τλήμων ἐγώ.

κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος πᾶσι πολίταις
ἦλθεν ἀέλπτως·
πολλῶν δακρύων ἔσται πίτυλος·
τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ἀξιοπενθεῖς
φῆμαι μᾶλλον κατέχουσιν.[2]

The technique of the play is of the strict type of the Medea, yet there are some indications of the tendencies which became so marked in the later plays. The resolved feet in the trimeter are few in spite of the metrical quantity of the name Hippolytus, the "Hauptperson".[3] In the responsions of syllables in the stasima, however, there is a trace of the laxness that prevailed with Euripides later. Cf. Masqueray, Théorie des formes lyriques de la tragédie grecque, Paris, 1895, p. 96: "Il faut, comme il est juste, tenir compte de l'ordre chronologique de ses pièces. L'*Alceste* et la *Médée*, en effet, sont versifiées avec beaucoup de soin, et je n'ai trouvé dans leur Stasima aucune de ces incorrections. L'*Hippolyte* en contient déjà une que tout le monde admet:

οὐκέτι γὰρ καθαρὰν φρέν' ἔχω τὰ παρ' ἐλπίδα λεύσσων . . .
οὐκέτι συζυγίαν πώλων Ἐνετᾶν ἐπιβάσε᾽ . . .

Stas. III, B. B'. 1120–1131".

Again[4] "Le premier Solo libre se lit aujourd'hui dans l'*Hippolyte*". Moreover the epodes which are found in the majority of his later tragedies appear in the Hippolytus first

[1] Thuc., II, 65, 5.
[2] vv. 1457 ff.
[3] Rumpel, op. cit.; cf. Wilamowitz, Herakles, II, p. 144, note.
[4] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 269.

of Euripides's extant tragedies.[1] On the other hand the *κομμοί* are of the regular symmetric type (Masqueray, pp. 167–8), and there is no notable expansion of the lyrical parts. In contrast with the late dramas the songs of the chorus are well motived by the situation, and the chorus has a close interest in all that goes on on the stage.[2]

There are many more repetitions of single words in the play than are found in the Medea and the Heraclidæ. Excluding repeated interjections, of which there are a dozen or more cases, I find ten instances of *ἐπίζευξις*, and these chiefly in lyric passages as in the later dramas.

The style of the play agrees well with its date. It is the last of the oldest group of extant dramas and yet contains indications of the characteristics and mannerisms which mark the plays of the next dozen years and, in a heightened and exaggerated degree, those of the last ten years of Euripides's life.

The Hecuba

To judge from the extant dramas, the Hecuba marks a turning-point in the technique of Euripides. Although it is one of the earlier plays and preserves a degree of strictness in the iambic trimeter, nevertheless most of the exaggerations caricatured by Aristophanes in the well-known passage in the Frogs are seen in some measure in this play. Aristophanes seized upon the play early for ridicule. The lines in the Clouds 717 ff.,

φροῦδα τὰ χρήματα, φρούδη χροιά,
φρούδη ψυχή, φρούδη δ' ἐμβάς,
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τοῖσι κακοῖς
φρουρὰς ἄδων
ὀλίγου φροῦδος γεγένημαι,

point to Hecuba, 161 ff.,[3]

φροῦδος πρέσβυς, φροῦδοι παῖδες

[1] Decharme, Euripide et l' esprit de son théatre, Paris, 1893, p. 476.
[2] Arnoldt, op. cit., pp. 59–60.
[3] Cf. however Fraccaroli, pp. 34–35.

and Hecuba, 171 ff.,

ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ
δυστανοτάτος ματέρος, ἔξελθ' ἔξελθ'
οἴκων — ἄιε ματέρος αὐδάν,

is echoed in the Clouds, 116 ff.,

ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ, ἔξελθ' οἴκων,
ἄιε σοῦ πατρός.

The Clouds was produced in 423 B. C. This is then the *terminus ante quem* for the Hecuba.

Some scholars place it immediately before the Clouds, that is in the year 424 B. C.[1] A contemporary reference, however, which is tolerably certain, would put it back perhaps to 425. It is inferred that the reference to Delos, 458 ff.,

ἔνθα πρωτόγονός τε φοῖνιξ
δάφνα θ' ἱεροὺς ἀνέσχε
πτόρθους Λατοῖ φίλᾳ,
ὠδῖνος ἄγαλμα Δίας,

was suggested by the recent purification of Delos and the establishing of the Delian games, related by Thucydides, III, 104. This took place in 426 B. C. It is not, of course, absolutely necessary that the play should have been written in the year immediately following the purification of Delos, though this is not lacking in probability. In any case the date 425 has met with pretty general acceptance.

Rassow[2] has endeavored to show that the Hecuba as we now have it is an "Ueberarbeitung," and that the passage which refers to Delos in the first stasimon is the work of the reviser. As the untenability of this position has been clearly demonstrated by Maass in answer to Rassow,[3] I will not take up Rassow's discussion, but only give two striking examples of his method. He sees the reviser in the following passage:

[1] Weil, H., Sept tragédies d'Euripide.
[2] Rassow, Hermes, XXII, 1887.
[3] Maass, E., Hermes, XXIV, 1889.

ΤΑ. *ποῦ τὴν ἄνασσαν δή ποτ' οὖσαν Ἰλίου,*
Ἑκάβην, ἂν ἐξεύροιμι, Τρῳάδες κόραι;
ΧΟ. *αὕτη πέλας σου νῶτ' ἔχουσ' ἐπὶ χθονί,*
Ταλθύβιε, κεῖται ξυγκεκλημένη πέπλοις.
ΤΑ. *ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; πότερα σ' ἀνθρώπους ὁρᾶν*
ἢ δόξαν ἄλλως τήνδε κεκτῆσθαι μάτην,
τύχην δὲ πάντα τἀν βροτοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖν:
οὐχ ἥδ' ἄνασσα τῶν πολυχρύσων Φρυγῶν,
οὐχ ἥδε Πριάμου τοῦ μέγ' ὀλβίου δάμαρ;[1]

Of lines 492–3 Rassow says: "Diese erstaunte Frage [*sic*] kann Talthybios unmöglich thun, nachdem er unmittelbar vorher von dem Chor darauf aufmerksam gemacht worden ist, dass die neben ihm liegende Person Hecuba sei". It would seem almost intentional perversity instead of lack of imagination that could reason thus. "Rhetorical questions", familiar to the proverbial school-boy, would seem to be unknown to the discoverer of the revision of this part of the Hecuba.

Rassow also finds that the first stasimon, ll. 444 ff.,

αὔρα, ποντιὰς αὔρα κ. τ. λ.,

must be ascribed to the reviser, because it is illogical that the Trojan women should here ask in song whither in the Greek lands fate was going to bring them, seeing that they had already been distributed among the Greek chiefs. The natural answer to this, given by Maass, is that one can very well imagine the Trojan women to be still in ignorance of the details of their fate, even though the lots have been drawn. In any case the song is dramatically in keeping with their situation, and one could, if forced to it, pardon Euripides a slight *ἄλογον* here rather than deny him the writing of this beautiful lyric.

It is in the stasimon, of course, that the reference to Delos comes which is generally accepted as an indication of the date of the play.

[1] Hecuba, vv. 484 ff.

In the passage in the Frogs to which I have frequently referred Æschylus sings a lyric designed to show *τὸν τῶν μονῳδιῶν τρόπον* in the dramas of Euripides. The monody is full of Euripidean epithets, and of his characteristic epizeuxis, and is a mélange of metres, such as is found increasingly in the later work of Euripides. The extant tragedies of Euripides without monodies are the Medea, the Heraclidæ, the Heracles, the Helen, the Iphigenia among the Taurians, and the Bacchæ. Monodies do not appear for the first time in the Hecuba, but in that drama there are two, whereas the preceding plays, the Alcestis, the Medea, the Heraclidæ, and the Hippolytus, have but one each, and the Medea and the Heraclidæ none. Furthermore in the construction of the monody a notable innovation is evident in the Hecuba. Though the early monodies of Euripides are antistrophic, neither of the two monodies in the Hecuba responds strophically.

The lyric expansion so evident in Euripides is also seen in his *ἀμοιβαῖα*—to use Masqueray's term[1] for the alternation of song or of song and speech on the part of the actors. In Euripides's earliest extant dramas such songs occur only in the Alcestis, which from its "satyric" nature is not in all points typical for the early tragedy. Æschylus has but one example of these songs, and Sophocles but two. These are antistrophic. That in the Hecuba, lines 154–215, is entirely lyrical and irregular in its responsion.

In the *κομμός* likewise the Hecuba marks a departure. "Le thrène lyrique lui-même, sorte de dialogue chanté à toutes les époques par la scène et l'orchestre, commence dès 425 à briser le moule étroit dans lequel il avait été jusque-là renfermé. C'est à partir de cette date que le genre libre, après quelques essais de conciliation, commence à prendre décidément le pas sur son prédécesseur."[2]

In the "allœostrophic" type the *κομμός* in the Hecuba

[1] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 220.
Masqueray, op. cit., p. 218.

comes first in point of time. The others of this sort are found in the Suppliants, the Heracles, the Ion, the Troades, the Tauric Iphigenia, the Phœnissæ, and the Bacchants.[1] "Or, dans le genre libre, la construction épirrhématique se rencontre pour la première fois en 425 ou 424, avec l'*Hécube*, et les thrènes entièrement chantés apparaissent quelques années plus tard, dans l'*Héraclès*, et surtout à partir de 412."

The repetitions which become so plentiful in the late plays and are employed to absurdity in the monody of the Phrygian in the Orestes begin to be abundant in the Hecuba. There are sixteen cases. These repetitions, as Masqueray points out,[2] are an indication of the predominance of music over poetry, and he well says that they are no more necessary to the sense than the repeated *εἰειειει-λίσσουσα* of lines 1348 and 1314 of the Frogs. As has already been noted, the earlier dramas of Euripides show relatively few instances besides interjections. The Alcestis has ten, the Medea six, the Heraclidæ two, and the Hippolytus ten. The number in the Alcestis is explained by the nature of that play — "*σατυρικώτερον, ὅτι εἰς χαρὰν καὶ ἡδονὴν καταστρέφει παρὰ τὸ τραγικόν*". In the Heraclidæ both instances occur in the iambic trimeter and have consequently nothing to do with the musical composition. The same is true of five out of the six cases in the Medea. In the Hippolytus begins that free use of repetitions in the lyric portion with the responsion of the repeated words, as in lines 526: *Ἔρως, Ἔρως*, 535: *ἄλλως, ἄλλως*, which is carried to such a hysterical point in the Phrygian scene in the Orestes. Of the sixteen cases in the Hecuba two occur in the iambic trimeter line 689,

ἄπιστ' ἄπιστα καινὰ καινὰ δέρκομαι.

In the matter of relevancy the choruses in the Hecuba stand between those of the severer early type and the later ones.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 214.
[2] Op. cit., p. 267.

The songs, though well-motived, correspond only to the general situation, and the chorus has been criticised by Hermann[1] and others for lamenting its own fate rather than showing sympathy with the sufferings of the heroine. This shows the beginning of that detachment of the chorus from the interest of the actors which reaches its height in such plays as the Helen and the Phœnissæ.

In most of the points of metre and style here discussed the Hippolytus is distinctly of the type of the Medea and the Heraclidæ. The Hecuba shows divergences enough from this type to give color to the assumption that it was composed a few years later than the Hippolytus. The parodies of Aristophanes already cited sufficiently establish 424 as the latest possible date for the Hecuba. It is, therefore, unnecessary to dwell on the fact that the Andromache (418–17) owes much to the Hecuba, and that echoes of it are found in lyric passages of the Troades (415) and the Helen (412). It is of interest to note how the chorus of Thessalian women in the Andromache, after the altercation between Andromache and Helen, burst into an entirely unmotived song about the judgment of Paris and the fall of Troy at verse 274 — a song which is an expansion of the choral song of the captive Trojan woman (vv. 639 ff. of the Hecuba) there, entirely appropriate to the condition of that chorus.

Among other passages the chorus in the Troades, beginning with line 511, and Helen's lament in the Helen, lines 239 ff., owe much to the choruses cited above from the Hecuba.

The dependence of various passages in the Andromache on the Hecuba, though it does not affect the absolute date of the latter, is of importance in view of the ancient theory, which still finds eminent defenders, that the Andromache was composed in the early years of the Peloponnesian war and so antedates the Hecuba. This point will be taken up again in the discussion of the date of the Andromache.

[1] Præfatio ad Hec., p. xvi.

The result of the present consideration of the date of the Hecuba is to confirm the usually accepted dating 425–424, which is established by the parodies of Aristophanes in the Clouds, by the reference to Delos in line 462 taken in connection with Thuc. III, 104, and by the position the Hecuba holds in its technique, having points of contact with the older dramas and showing the later tendencies in metre and style.

The Suppliants

A *terminus post quem* for the Suppliants is not far to seek. One of the most notable occurrences of the early Peloponnesian war was the refusal of the Bœotians to surrender the dead soldiers of Athens after the battle of Delium, 424 B. C.[1] That Euripides should have written in the early years of the war an *ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν*, the plot of which turned on the refusal of a king of Thebes to surrender the fallen Argives for burial, and that this play should have preceded the action of the Bœotians after Delium, is beyond the bounds of likelihood. With reference to this argument, as well as on other grounds, the several critics have united in dating the play after 424 B. C.

Bœckh and Hermann assign the play to the year 420 B. C., at the time of the treaty made with Argos. Hermann believes that it may have been acted in the presence of the Argive ambassadors. Wilamowitz hesitates between 422 and 421, in his latest expression of opinion[2] inclining toward the former year, "wo der Hass gegen den lebenden Kleon angemessen, der Schmerz über den Verlust von Delion noch frisch, die Mahnung wirklich von Bedeutung war".[3] Of the date 420 he says: "Die von Böckh und Hermann beliebte Datirung der Hiketiden auf 420 ist aus vielen Gründen ganz undenkbar, und den Erechtheus, der von ihnen nicht wohl getrennt werden kann, erwähnt unsere überlieferung schon 421". Barnes and Markland see in

[1] Thuc. IV, 93–96.
[2] Euripides, Der Mütter Bittgang, Berlin, 1899, p. 26.
[3] Herakles, Berlin, 1895, I, p. 134 note.

the play a note of reproach for Argos and place it in the year 418–17, when the Argive oligarchy made a treaty with Sparta. Giles[1] finds that Hermann's date for the play is strongly supported by the characterizations of the fallen chiefs, in whom he discerns Nicias, Lamachus, Demosthenes, Alcibiades, Laches, all of whom had sworn to the treaty of Nicias in the preceding year,[2] and who were "indisputably the best known personages among the Athenian deputies who were present on the occasion".

The play is as markedly as were the Heraclidæ and the Andromache a "Gelegenheitstück", and the political views of Euripides find expression in it. The two later plays are variously interpreted to show that Euripides was an adherent of Nicias, of Cleon, or of Alcibiades, so that he is regarded as belonging to all the three parties which he designates in the well-known lines in the Suppliants, 238 ff.,

τρεῖς γὰρ πολιτῶν μερίδες κ. τ. λ.

Wilamowitz holds that in this play Argos is treated with "ausgesuchter Nichtachtung", and that, far from demanding a treaty with Argos, Athens only puts an obligation on that city to refrain from invading Attica and to help her in case Athenian territory is invaded. He believes that Euripides is here advocating peace with Sparta and is on the side of Nicias.

Bergk[3] holds that Euripides was of an excitable nature, blown to and fro with every wind of political doctrine, so that he could be an advocate of Cleon, and was so in the Andromache in 423–2 (according to Bergk's conception of the play), and could also the next year write the choral song that made so largely for peace, as Plutarch relates:[4]

κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις,
μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολιῷ γήρᾳ συνοικοίην·

[1] Giles, P., Classical Review, 1890, pp. 95 ff.
[2] Thuc. V, 19.
[3] Bergk, Hermes, 18, Die Aufführungszeit der Andromache.
[4] Nauck, Fragm. (1889), 969.

ἀείδοιμι δὲ στεφάνοις κάρα πολιὸν στεφανώσας,
Θρηίκιον πέλταν πρὸς Ἀθάνας
περικίοσιν ἀγκρεμάσας θαλάμοις,
δέλτων τ' ἀναπτύσσοιμι γῆρυν
ἃν σοφοὶ κλέονται.

In view of our defective knowledge of political conditions and the attitude of parties, not to speak of individuals, at the time of the discussion of the peace with Sparta finally made in 421 B. C., it is wise not to infer too much about the political idiosyncrasies of Euripides. Doubtless he was not absolutely consistent — if that be consistency — to the extent of never changing his opinions, but it is clear that he had political principles to which he gave his consistent and passionate adherence. Minutiæ of his changes or constancy cannot be discovered by the allegorizing method of Firnhaber or by the remarkable combinations of Bergk;[1] but the following general conclusions stand firm: Euripides loved Athens and hated Sparta; he preferred peace to war, but honor to cowardice. In his earliest extant political drama, the Heraclidæ, his chorus sings,

εἰρήνα μὲν ἐμοί γ' ἀρέσκει,[2]

and in the Andromache, filled as it is with the bitterest invective against Sparta, there is no advocacy of war, though the keenest resentment and hatred of Spartan success and Spartan baseness are expressed. The beauty of peace is the theme of the ode which survives from the Cresphontes:[3]

εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε καὶ
καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
ζῆλος μοι σέθεν ὡς χρονίζεις,
δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
ὑπερβάλῃ με γῆρας,
πρὶν σὰν χαρίεσσαν προσιδεῖν ὥραν

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, Herakles, I, p. 143.
[2] Heraclidæ, v. 371.
[3] Nauck, Græc. Fragm., Eur., 453.

καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδάς,
τὰν δ' ἐχθρὰν στάσιν εἰρᾳ' ἀπ' οἰ-
κων τὰν μαινομέναν τ' ἔριν
θηκτῷ τερπομέναν σιδάρῳ.

Bergk seems right in assigning this play to the period just before the peace of Nicias, when, as Thucydides says,[1] Spartans and Athenians alike desired peace. The tone is the same as in Aristophanes's Peace. Cf. vv. 974 ff. of that play:

ὦ σεμνοτάτη βασίλεια θεά
πότνι' Εἰρήνη,
δέσποινα χορῶν, δέσποινα γάμων.

Wilamowitz's theory that the Cresphontes was brought out with the Heraclidæ is untenable; for the latter play must be put in the first year of the war, and the words of this song imply a long waiting for peace.

In this play, too, there is certainly high commendation of peace. Cf. vv. 484 ff.

εἰ δ' ἦν παρ' ὄμμα θάνατος ἐν ψήφου φορᾷ,
οὐκ ἄν ποθ' Ἑλλὰς δοριμανὴς ἀπώλλυτο.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
ὅσῳ τε πολέμου κρεῖσσον εἰρήνη βροτοῖς,
ἣ πρῶτα μὲν μούσαισι προσφιλεστάτη,
γόοισι δ' ἐχθρά, τέρπεται δ' εὐπαιδίᾳ,
χαίρει δὲ πλουτῳ κ. τ. λ.[2]

Peaceable settlement of disputes and compromise are praised by Adrastus in lines 739 ff., and general denunciation of war may be found *passim*. The fact remains, however, that the two motives of the play which *sautent aux yeux* are the Theban refusal to surrender the dead and the aid of and alliance with

[1] Thuc. V, 14 ff.
[2] Cf. Ar., Peace, vv. 520 ff.

Argos, whereas Sparta is brought in quite gratuitously for denunciation :

Σπάρτη μὲν ὠμὴ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους.[1]

Here Sparta's cruelty and crooked dealings are openly denounced, as in the later Andromache and often in the history of Thucydides. The Argive alliance was exclusively the affair of Alcibiades, as the fifth book of Thucydides abundantly testifies. He saw that Argos must attach herself to either Athens or Sparta, and that Sparta was ready to renounce Athens for such a profitable alliance, which would protect her at home, while she prosecuted war outside of the Peloponnesus.[2] Nicias, the constant friend of Sparta, urged against a treaty with Argos without consultation with her and prevailed on the Athenians to send an embassy, on which he himself went, to beg the Spartans to deal fairly in accordance with the terms of the peace.[3] A play celebrating an Argive alliance and denouncing Sparta, as does the Suppliants, would not be written by a close adherent of Nicias. The fact that Euripides in all his political plays, and so in this play, praises peace does not in itself prove that his sympathies were with Nicias or that he approved of the terms of the Peace of Nicias, which carried with it active alliance with Sparta. What the terms of a "Peace of Alcibiades" would have been it is idle to guess, but Thucydides states that, besides the fact that he was piqued because of the Spartan slighting of his claims to negotiate the peace, Alcibiades had Argive leanings which led him in 420 to advocate that alliance with sincerity.

Now it seems practically certain that Euripides was interested in Alcibiades in the beginning of his political career. Plutarch in his life of Alcibiades certainly attributes to Euripides the writing of the ode which celebrated the famous victories of Alcibiades at Olympia, which most probably occurred in the

[1] V. 187.
[2] Thuc. V, 36.
[3] Thuc. V, 46.

year 420; and though in his life of Demosthenes Plutarch's reference to the matter expresses some doubt about the authorship of the ode, he nevertheless states that it is the common opinion that Euripides wrote it. This connection between the two men is usually regarded as an established fact. Cf. Wilamowitz, Der Mütter Bittgang, p. 27: "Er hat sich in den nächsten Jahren dem Alkibiades genähert, der 420 zuerst hervortrat". And there is certainly a resemblance which I have not seen noticed, but which, I think, must have been commented upon, since it seems striking, between the polity commended by Euripides in the Suppliants, lines 244–45,

τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἦ'ν μέσῳ σῴζει πόλεις
κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὅντιν' ἂν τάξῃ πόλις,

and the political creed set forth as his own by Alcibiades at Sparta, Thuc. VI, 89. He too is against οἱ τύραννοι and also against the ὄχλος. Moreover he says: τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης ἀκολασίας ἐπειρώμεθα μετριώτεροι ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ εἶναι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ ξύμπαντος προέστημεν, δικαιοῦντες ἐν ᾧ σχήματι μεγίστη ἡ πόλις ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἐλευθερωτάτη οὖσα καὶ ὅπερ ἐδέξατό τις, τοῦτο ξυνδιασῴζειν. Here the same constitutional views are expressed as in the Euripidean lines.

Later plays of Euripides, such as the Andromache and the Phœnissæ, suggest like political views to those of Alcibiades, or at least an interest in him. It seems, then, that the interpretation of the play which makes Euripides the adherent of Alcibiades rather than of Nicias is more in accord with other facts and indications.

Wilamowitz[1] argues for 422 rather than 421, the date earlier advocated by him in his Analecta Euripidea, on the ground that in the former year the loss of the battle of Delium was still fresh in the minds of the Athenians. This argument is in itself good, but there were occurrences in the year 420, which would renew the bitterness over Delium, if it were flagging,

[1] Wilamowitz, Der Mütter Bittgang, p. 26.

and which brought Bœotians and Argives together before the Athenian public. It is to this juxtaposition of Bœotia and Argos and the subsequent treaty with Argus that I attribute the play.

The events in question are those recounted by Thucydides, V, 36, 37, 38, 40. Two of the Spartan ephors in the winter of 421 entered into negotiations with the Bœotians[1] which certainly bear out the charge,

> *ἑλικτὰ κοὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ*
> *φρονοῦντες.*[2]

Their suggestion was that the Bœotians, to escape the hated Athenian alliance, should enter the Argive alliance and then win over the Argives to the side of Sparta. The Spartans would break faith with Athens for the price of the Argive friendship, for which they had always longed, that they might with easy minds fight outside the Peloponnesus. These schemes were met half way by some Argive magistrates, but the accomplishment failed by reason of some delay on the Bœotian side. During the same winter the Spartans, for the sake of getting Panactum for Athens and Pylus for themselves, concluded a separate alliance with the Bœotians in defiance of the terms of the treaty with Athens. The Argives, in trouble over all this, fearing it meant a union of Athens, Sparta and Bœotia, felt that, unless they would be left isolated, they would do better to make alliance with Sparta. This accordingly they set about. The Spartan envoys arrived in Athens with the Athenian prisoners from Panactum, but with the unwelcome news of the demolition of the place and of their private alliance with Bœotia against the terms of the treaty. Here were *ποικίλοι τρόποι* which so aroused the Athenians' anger that they dismissed the envoys with an ungentle answer. Forthwith Alciabiades sent a message to his Argive friends that here was their opportunity, promising them his aid. The Argives did not hesitate to throw over the affair

[1] Thuc. V, 36.
[2] Andromache, v. 447.

with Bœotia and Sparta or fail to appreciate the advantages of an alliance with their old friend Athens, a democracy like themselves, possessing a navy which would be worth much to them in war. Their envoys hastened to Athens. Spartan envoys came too, who failed of an honest hearing by the famous trickery of Alcibiades, of whom, however, it must be said that he was no more dishonest than his Spartan dupes. Nicias, in his zeal for peace and Sparta, went to Lacedæmon to make Athenian demands. The Spartans refused to give up their private alliance with the Bœotians, and the Athenians, smarting under a sense of injustice done them, made their treaty with Argos and her allies. The Peace of Nicias and the alliance of Athens with Sparta was not renounced by either side in consequence of this. This Bœoto-Argive complication, and the indignation aroused by it in Athens, when its details became known, can easily have suggested the thought from which the Suppliants grew.

I believe that the play, then, must be dated in 420, the date of Boeckh and Hermann, which Wilamowitz pronounces impossible. The play must have been written, however, after the treaty with Argos was made. It would be a more dramatic conception to believe, with Hermann, that the play was performed in the presence of the Argive envoys, but that supposition attributes to Euripides either a supernatural gift of foresight, or a miraculous speed of composition. The play is not one of hurried or slighted workmanship.

Wilamowitz finds that Argos is treated with contempt throughout the play. This is far too strong a statement, though it cannot be denied that Theseus's manner toward Adrastus is strongly "von oben herab". But I take this to be only a bit of heroic manners and their different standards which allows the king of Athens to say to his suppliant guest,

> *σίγ' Ἄδραστ', ἔχε στόμα*
> *καὶ μὴ 'πίπροσθε τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς σοὺς λόγους*[1]
> *θῇς.*

[1] Vv. 514–515.

But it is not improbable that Athens, choosing, as she did, between Spartan and Argive overtures, did assume in making the alliance the attitude of the conferrer of the favor. That was at least in all likelihood the sentiment in Athens, where a feeling of confidence and superiority had prevailed ever since the victory of Sphacteria.

Wilamowitz notes that the compact at the end of the play demands nothing from Athens and lays on Argos all duty of assistance against foes. This, he says, is very different from the actual treaty of 420. But it must be observed that Athena's appearance is quite idle, unless some significance is attached to her words. Theseus has already enjoined grateful remembrance upon the Argives, and Adrastus has promised it for them. There is no knot left for the *deus ex machina* to loose. Athena now appears, demanding that the Argives be not allowed to go without a solemn pledge to be allies of Athens in danger. A generation earlier Æschylus in his Eumenides[1] had commemorated, in a similar passage, an alliance of Athens and Argos. The passage in the Suppliants with all its details suggests inevitably a real treaty, and its terms correspond in part to the actual treaty preserved in Thuc. V, 47. That the treaty given by Euripides is one-sided is in accordance with the motive of the play, and as the play was written for an Athenian rather than an Argive audience, that emphasis was placed on Argive aid rather than on Athenian sacrifice would not displease the popular feeling. The reference to sacrificial victims seems to be a trait taken from the actual treaty. It happens that in this treaty alone among those preserved by Thucydides are victims mentioned. The prophecy of hostility between the Argive *σκύμνοι λεόντων* and the Thebans gains its point from the alliance of Argos and Athens, ever the foes of Bœotia, and the breaking off of all attempts at *rapprochement* between Argos and Bœotia.

From the political tone of the drama, then, it is evident that

[1] Eumenides, v. 765.

it was composed after Delium and before Mantinea. In this period I hold that the most probable date is the year 420–419, immediately after the Athenian treaty with Argos. The play cannot precede the Peace of Nicias, as Wilamowitz maintains, and cannot be intended, as he conceives, to create feeling for the peace; for it emphasizes hatred towards Sparta and Bœotia, and one of its chief dramatic effects is a solemn and detailed treaty with Argos. Moreover its praises of peace are by no means inevitably praises of the Peace of Nicias or of peace and alliance with Sparta alone. No rupture of that treaty followed the Argive alliance as its direct and immediate consequence.

Further, the play could not have been brought out, as Haigh[2] states, "in the spring of 420, when the alliance with Argos was about to be concluded", nor, as Hermann believes, at the time of the treaty in the presence of the ambassadors; for this latter supposition implies a fore-knowledge of the outcome of the complicated and secret negotiations between Athens and Sparta and Argos which is improbable, or a hasty composition that is not warranted by the careful technique of the play.

Giles[3] dates the play, as I have done, after the treaty with Argos. His argument, however, is one that should hardly meet with approbation. It turns on the identification of the Argive leaders with notable Athenians. Of some of the identifications, it may be said, that, though based on exceedingly inadequate evidence, it is not absolutely beyond the bounds of reason that they should be right. But the manifest absurdity of making the beautiful youth Parthenopæus of Arcadia, a young Sir Galahad, whose heart is pure in spite of all temptation, represent Alcibiades,

> "Born to be nothing else than beautiful
> And brave, to eat, drink, love his life away",

[1] See Decharme, op. cit., pp. 201 ff.
[2] The Tragic Drama of the Greeks p. 296.
[3] Giles, P., Political Allusions in the Suppliants of Euripides, Class. Rev. Vol. IV, p. 95.

has led even the ingenious inventor of this theory to suggest that in this portrayal Euripides is drawing Alcibiades not as he was, but as his country would have had him be.

The Suppliants, while composed with great care, belongs in its metre and language unmistakably to the middle group of plays. The metre shows the growing freedom of the time in the more frequent resolutions in the trimeter, in which respect the play is freer than the Hecuba.[1] Some of the later lack of symmetry is seen in the *κομμός* in lines 1072–79. The monody, however, is of the earlier antistrophic type. "La forme libre, fluide, s'imposait donc, et elle ne tardera guère à apparâitre; mais nous ne sommes encore qu' au début d'un art nouveau. Si nous laissons de côté le *Rhésos*, on sait que la date des *Suppliantes*, jouées après l'*Andromaque* [*sic*], doit être placée vers 420."[2]

The figurative language of the play is rich and beautiful, even the prologue, which so often with Euripides is merely mechanical and without beauty, containing a poetic touch (lines 30–32). One peculiarly Euripidean figure, that of *ἐπίζευξις*, is conspicuously absent. I have noted only *φέρω, φέρω* (line 1123), with the antistrophic *παπαῖ, παπαῖ*. This is a curious fact, when we consider that the play belongs to a group which is marked by the increasing use of this figure and that there are plenty of situations in the play where we might, after the analogy of the other plays, expect it. Other assonance figures, such as anaphora, polyptoton and alliteration, occur with notable frequency in this play.

The Date of the Heracles.

There have been few attempts to date the Heracles exactly,[3] though there is a general agreement that this drama belongs to the middle group of extant plays. Cf. von Wilamowitz-

[1] Rumpel, op. cit., p. 409.
[2] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 274.
[3] See Wilamowitz, Herakles, pp. 132–147.

Moellendorff, Herakles (Berlin, 1895), p. 135: "dass der Herakles zwischen Hiketiden und Troerinnen gedichtet ist, kann mit ziemlich starker zuversicht behauptet werden". The personal note in the chorus on old age (lines 638–700) makes it evident that the poet was in his own feeling *γέρων ἀοιδός* when he wrote this play, and this would correspond to the limits suggested in the citation from Wilamowitz.

The play contains indubitable political references to contemporaneous events, but, with our insufficient knowledge of the times, none of these is intelligible enough to fix the date with any degree of certainty. The most evident of these references is contained in lines 588 ff.:

> *πολλοὺς πένητας, ὀλβίους δὲ τῷ λόγῳ*
> *δοκοῦντας εἶναι, συμμάχους ἄναξ ἔχει,*
> *οἳ στάσιν ἔθηκαν καὶ διώλεσαν πόλιν*
> *ἐφ' ἁρπαγαῖσι τῶν πέλας, τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις*
> *δαπάναισι φροῦδα, διαφυγόνθ' ὑπ' ἀργίας.*

These verses Hartung[1] referred to Theban politics at the time of the controversy over Delium. Wilamowitz expunges them, because of their utter lack of connection with the passage in which they are set, with the comment, "verse, die mit dem drama inhaltlich nicht verbunden sind, sind auch an dem platze, wo sie überliefert sind, nach beiden seiten unverbunden. das spricht für die unechtheit". This procedure, however, is to be followed with caution; for Euripides has the habit of introducing gratuitous political allusions. In any case the lines offer nothing useful for determining the date of the play, although they are evidently directed against political intrigues, most probably Athenian.

Fix conjectured that the *ψόγος τοξότου* and *ἔπαινος τοξότου* between Lycus, vv. 159 ff., and Amphitryo vv. 188 ff., involved a contrast of Athenian and Spartan methods of fighting. This

[1] Hartung, Euripides Restitutus.

point is developed by Wilamowitz and applied to the success of the light infantry over the Spartan hoplites at Sphacteria and to the defeat suffered by Athens at Delium with no light infantry to protect the retreat. He adds that the verses in question were of a sort to call forth unbounded applause from the partisans of the brilliant Demosthenes, the forerunner of Iphicrates in the development of the light infantry.

This very probable argument gives 424 B. C. as the earliest *terminus post quem* for the play, and the style and metre of the play are in favor of this. Rumpel's investigation of the resolutions in the trimeter of Euripides places the Heracles after the Supplices and before the Troades. Masqueray, in his discussion of the lyric forms of Greek tragedy, shows that the κομμοί of the Heracles exhibit those changes which appear in this part of the Greek tragedy from 425 B. C. "Si l'on réfléchit au développement que suivit le Commos tragique jusque vers 425, on voit qu'il tend de plus en plus, sinon à rejeter toute symétrie, du moins à la dissimuler."[1] In the asymmetric class of κομμοί here discussed by Masqueray are the κομμοί in the Hecuba, Heracles (lines 887 ff.), Ion, Suppliants, Troades, Iphigenia among the Taurians, and Bacchants. In these one person sings the lyric verses with no recitation. There are epirrhemata, generally by the coryphæus. The strophes and epirrhemata are alike unequal. In this asymmetric class are also the entirely lyrical κομμοί of the Heracles (lines 1042–1085), Helen, Iphigenia in Aulis, and Bacchants. The earliest of these plays is the Hecuba, which by general consent is dated in 425 B. C. Moreover, those of the entirely lyrical asymmetric class, besides the Heracles, belong to the latest group of plays. From metrical considerations it is evident that 424 is none too late a *terminus post quem*. Another metrical indication of relatively late composition are the trochaic tetrameters of lines 855–874.[2] Six of the nine Euripidean

[1] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 203.
[2] Wilamowitz, Herakles, I, 145.

dramas in which this metre occurs are known to be of late date, and the presumption is strongly in favor of their all having been composed after 420. Wilamowitz further calls attention to the great extent to which the "enoplic", or mixed, dochmiacs are used in this play, otherwise found in the later plays, Andromache (though Wilamowitz counts this a member of the earliest group), Troades, Ion, Helen, Iphigenia among the Taurians, Phœnissæ, Orestes, Bacchantes.

In the treatment of the chorus this play shows the characteristics of the relatively early extant plays. As in the four earliest, Alcestis, Medea, Heraclidæ and Hippolytus, and the succeeding dramas, Hecuba and Suppliants, the chorus bears an intimate relation to the action, and its songs are on the whole adapted to the situation.

The language and style are comparatively free from the mannerisms which mark so strongly Euripides's later work. Cf. Wilamowitz: "der sprache nach möchte man ihn trotz einer anzahl barocker wendungen den älteren dramen anreihen. Das scheint sich zu wiedersprechen, aber alle einzelnen erscheinungen erklären sich, sobald man nur anerkennt, dass der dichter sich mit diesem drama besonders viel mühe gegeben hat".[1] In the matter of repeated words the Heracles stands with the dramas of the middle group. Of these repetitions I note thirteen.

Wilamowitz sees a change in the "Weltanschauung" of Euripides between the Suppliants and the Heracles, because he says in the Suppliants, line 180, the poet must have joy in his heart in order to create anything that will give joy, and this is the direct opposite of the mood in which he composed the Heracles and all later dramas. The passage in the Suppliants is, however, of doubtful authenticity and is generally bracketed. Wilamowitz is inclined to make Alcibiades, "dieser dæmonisch geniale Mann", responsible for the embittering of Euripides and his work.

[1] Op. cit., p. 147 f.

Dieterich, on the other hand, finds that the Heracles and the Suppliants are closely related and feels that they cannot be divided by the bitter experiences which have left their impression on the later plays, notably the Trojan trilogy. In the Heracles Euripides still takes an active interest in politics. Dieterich suggests that the Heracles, the Suppliants, and the Erechtheus were given together. "Theseus, der den Herakles aus Theben nach Athen führt, dass er dort ganz genese, der die Leichen der Argiven von den gottlosen Thebanern erfordert, wie die Athener nach der Schlacht von Delion es gethan, am Schluss aus Göttermund die Mahnung an Athen und Argos sich zu verbünden — in beiden Stücken ganz dieselbe Animosität gegen Theben: Erechtheus, der den feindlichen Einfall siegreich zurückweist, seines Kindes Blut hochherzig fürs Vaterland hingibt — und darin das herrliche Friedenslied, das man in Athen auf allen Gassen sang — drei Stücke, ein grosses ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν im Jahre des Nikiasfriedens."[1]

Wilamowitz[2] dissents from such a close dating of the plays: "der gedanke, den Herakles selbst zwischen Erechtheus und Hiketiden zu rücken, hätte nicht ausgesprochen werden sollen, ganz abgesehen von dem gegensatze der stimmung in beiden werken, denn selbst wenn man die beiden Theseus neben einander ertragen wollte: der könig Kreon in den Hiketiden und der könig Kreon im Herakles vertragen sich nicht".

Dieterich is wrong, in my opinion, in placing the Suppliants in the year of the peace of Nicias. "Dass sie 421 aufgeführt sind, ist wohl sicher", he says; but his argument for the closer relation of the Supplices and the Heracles is, to my thinking, good, although I do not believe that they formed part of the same trilogy. Between the Suppliants and the Andromache came the battle of Mantinea with its rehabilitation of Spartan prestige and its depreciation of Athenian glory. The Andromache is stamped with the bitterness of defeat. The Hecuba and the Suppliants know a proud Athens that is a refuge for men in distress.

[1] Op. cit., p. 42.
[2] Herakles, I, 134, Anm. 27.

My feeling is that the Dorian hero was celebrated by Euripides after the Peace of Nicias and before the battle of Mantinea. My *termini* would be 420 and 418.

Hermann[1] notes a general resemblance of composition between the Heracles and the Andromache. Andromache with her son, Molossus, victims of Hermione and Menelaus, correspond to Megara and her children, victims of Lycus. They are defended from harm in the one play by Peleus, in the other by Heracles. The defenders are in both cases stricken with misfortune, and the plays are ended in the one case by the intervention of Thetis as *deus ex machina*, in the other by that of Theseus.

It is, of course, *a priori* possible that the Andromache was a "fore-study" for the greater Heracles; but a comparison of the two plays leaves the impression that the great work "on which" Euripides "expended so much toil and love, to which he gave life with his own heart's blood",[2] preceded in time the artificial Andromache, the political piece, with its lack of unity external and internal, contrasting with the deep meaning of the superficially ununified Heracles. This may be regarded as a purely subjective argument, but the point made by Dieterich is certainly strong, that the Heracles is separated in feeling from the Euripidean dramas of 415 and later by its pride in the strength of Athens. There is the same difference apparent between it and the bitter Andromache, written, as I hope to prove, after Mantinea.

A discussion of the date of the Heracles of Euripides cannot ignore the relation between that play and the Trachinians of Sophocles, although, as the date of the latter play is unknown, a settlement of the question of priority between the two dramas could give no precise data for determining the time of composition of the Heracles.

The date of the Trachinians is still *sub iudice*, some critics putting it among the earliest extant plays of Sophocles, and

[1] Præfatio ad Supplices, 1837.
[2] Wilamowitz, Herakles I., p. 132.

others among his latest. Zielinski[1] regards it as very probably the oldest extant Sophoclean play: "die Trachinierinnen sind vielleicht das älteste der uns erhaltenen Stücke des Sophocles, sicher nicht viel jünger als die Antigone". Wilamowitz, on the other hand, believes that the Heracles of Euripides directly suggested to Sophocles the subject of the Trachinians.

There are resemblances casual and superficial and also those which cannot be the result of chance between the Trachinians and the work of Euripides in several of his dramas. Some of these resemblances are weighed by Zielinski and decided according to various criteria. By these he determines that in each case Sophocles has been the original and Euripides the borrower. He thus maintains that the Trachinians preceded the Alcestis and the Medea. Professor Earle[2] has refuted his argument and has established the priority of the Alcestis and the Medea. He shows this notably for the Alcestis by pointing out the sources of Sophocles's motive of the waiting, silent woman, Iole in Trach. 325 ff., *δακρυρροεῖ δύστηνος κ. τ. λ.* It is to be found in the insignificant scene of the waiting handmaid, Alc. 136 ff., where the verbal coincidences show that the verses were in Sophocles's mind when he composed his own more ambitious scene, and the famous scene, Alc. 1200 ff., of the silent Alcestis. That there is a conflation of these two passages in the Sophoclean passage is beyond a doubt, when once the scenes have been compared. In the case of the Medea, also by a comparison of the various tragic motives of the Trachinians and the Medea, Professor Earle shows that "in writing the Trachinians Sophocles had the Medea before him, and that in the case of this play, too, he paid Euripides the compliment of imitation".

In Zielinski's argument, "der Arzt" Sophocles plays a large part, and he contrasts the realistic description of the effect of the poison in the Trachinians with the theatrical narration in

[1] Philologus, 1896.

[2] Studies in Sophocles's Trachinians, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 33, pp. 1 sqq.

the Medea. He admits, however, that it would be impossible to find any one cause that would produce all the varied symptoms of the Sophoclean scene. He thinks that Sophocles's vocabulary would show on examination a large number of technical medical terms. It is my strong impression that the vocabulary of Euripides would be found to contain far more words of this nature than that of Sophocles. I have noted in reading a considerable number of terms which Euripides has in common with the medical writers, which do not appear in the other tragedians. Some of the notable instances of such expressions are *φλὲψ κοίλη*, Ion, 1011 : Hippocrates, 344, 30 ; *ἐρύθημα*, Phœn., 1488 : Hippocr. Aph., 1260 ; *ἑλκόω*, Hecuba, 405 ; *ἑλκώδης*, Hippol., 1359 : Hippocr. Epid. 3, 1085 ; *σφακελισμός*, Frag. 751 : Hippocr. Art. 799 ; Scholiast on Hippocr. *ὁ δὲ Βακχεῖος ὀδύνην καὶ ἄλγημα καὶ φλεγμονὴν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σφακελισμὸν, παραθέμενος Εὐριπίδου λέξεις ἐκ Τημένου. δυσθάνατος* Ion, 1051 : Hippocrates, 71 F : *σφριγῶ*, Androm., 196 ; Suppliants, 478 ; Hippocr., 618, 47 ; 684, 13.

Zielinski finds that Andromache 222 ff. was borrowed from Trachinians 460–462 and 485. It is true that, at first sight, Andromache's self-abasement might seem an artificial and grotesque exaggeration of Deianira's words, but a comparison of the two dramas as wholes shows that it is the Trachinians that has borrowed from the Andromache rather than the reverse.

The prologue of the Trachinians has a marked resemblance to that of the Andromache, more marked than to any other Euripidean prologue. This passage is strongly contested between those who affirm and those who deny the Euripidean influence. For example Haigh says: "The opening speech of Deianira, as was long since pointed out, is not a mere reproduction of the Euripidean prologue: it is spoken in conversation with the nurse instead of being addressed to the spectators, and the desultory narrative which it contains is natural and appropriate under the circumstances"[1]. See also Zielinski,

[1] Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 189 ; Cf. Patin, Sophocle, p. 66.

who, however[1], considers the prologue not to be addressed to the nurse, but to be a "Spinnelied", like that of Gretchen in Faust, "Meine Ruh ist hin". Compare on the other hand Croiset[2]: "Au début, un prologue narratif fait songer à la manière d'Euripide et semble dénoter son influence; à la fin la monodie d'Héraclès accentue encore la ressemblance". The prologue of the Andromache is typically Euripidean. No trace of any alien influence is apparent in it. The prologue of the Trachinians is *prima facie* strikingly un-Sophoclean. It is much longer than the introductory speeches of the extant dramas. It is not addressed to any one, as are all the other extant introductory speeches. It contains a narration of the speaker's antecedents and a description of the preliminary plot entirely in the Euripidean manner. Yet it has beautiful Sophoclean touches that redeem it from the artificiality and theatricality of Euripides. Euripides, then, in the prologue of his Andromache shows no trace of Sophoclean manner. Sophocles in the prologue of the Trachinians shows traits acknowledged by all critics from Aristophanes down to be Euripidean. And the two prologues are similarly constructed.

The prelude of the first few lines is not the same, but it leads up to the same statement of wretchedness.

Trach., 5: *ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυστυχῆ τε καὶ βαρύν.*

Androm., 6: *νῦν, εἴτις ἄλλη, δυστυχεστάτη γυνή.*

The beginning of the narratives immediately following is cast in the same form.

Trach., 6: *ἥτις πατρὸς μὲν.*

Androm., 8: *ἥτις πόσιν μὲν.*

Then follows the recitation of the woes of the two women in their, for different reasons, unhappy unions, and the expressions of their fears.

Trach., 37: *ταρβήσας ἔχω.*

Androm., 42: *δειματουμένη ἐγώ.*

[1] Philologus, 1896, pp. 521 ff.

[2] Croiset, III, 239.

Finally Neoptolemus and Heracles alike are absent, and their absence is fraught with terror for Andromache and Deianira.

To the monologue of each a servant replies:

Trach., 49: *δέσποινα Δηάνειρα.*

Androm., 56: *δέσποιν'*—

There is a certain likeness between the character of Deianira and that of Andromache; each is the type of the model wife as conceived by the poet of each. Deianira is a conception so much more beautiful than Andromache that the merit of originality might seem to belong to Sophocles on this score. But Euripides has derived his Andromache from the Andromache of the Iliad, where she is the good and loving wife, as Helen is the faithless one, while there is nothing in the myth to indicate that Deianira was any other type than the jealous wife. That is far from being her character in Sophocles's fine portrayal. Euripides's Andromache is the noble conception of the Iliad ruined by the mawkish sentimentality, the rhetorical bombast, and the shameful altercations with her foes with which Euripides sets her forth. One cannot think that Euripides had much joy in this creation. She is a mouth-piece of his bitterness. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the type which she is meant to represent here and in the Troades (43 ff.), where she gives a didactic catalogue of her own virtues, influenced Sophocles, than that his beautiful and womanly Deianira suggested anything for the character of Andromache. Sophoclean as Deianira is in her nobility, hers is a character not paralleled elsewhere in his plays. The *ἐρῶσα γυνή* is Euripides's province and not Sophocles's.[1]

I conclude then that Zielinski is wrong in placing the Trachinians before the Andromache, since the prologue of the former has Euripidean touches which can be traced to the prologue of the Andromache; and, further, the portrayal of the faithful wife wholly devoted to her husband may have been suggested by Euripides's play.

[1] Aristoph., Frogs, v. 1044.

To come to the Heracles itself, Zielinski has not been at all more successful in his attempt to show its dependence on the Trachinians than in his similar attempts with other Euripidean plays. The Heracles and the Trachinians have many verbal resemblances and resemblances of style and motive. The verbal resemblances, many and striking though they are, are not decisive enough to form in themselves an absolutely convincing argument. It is in the use of various motives and characters of the Euripidean play that the imitation on the part of Sophocles becomes evident. Dieterich has shown in the Rheinisches Museum for 1892[1] in his article on "Schlafscenen auf der Attischen Bühne" that Sophocles has introduced his sleeping Heracles, whose sleep by no means follows naturally upon the fiery anguish of the poisoned robe, because of the famous scene in the Heracles, where the sleep of the hero is fully, though supernaturally, motived. He makes the point, which Wilamowitz further elaborates[2], that the old man who attends Heracles in the Trachinians is merely a double of Amphitryon. Wilamowitz shows that Sophocles has represented his Heracles as in the play of Euripides, overcome with madness at a sacrifice, committing a deed of madness, which, however, in the Trachinians is so perfunctory that no one pays any attention to it, and finally asleep on the stage attended by an old man who does not appear elsewhere in the Trachinians. The originality of all the motives in the Heracles is clear. Zielinski, to maintain his thesis, is driven to calling the old man Heracles's physician. Even if this far-fetched idea could be substantiated, the derivation of the scene and character from Euripides would yet be undeniable.

In its verbal style the Trachinians displays some traits that are Euripidean. The use of λέχος and λέκτρον is noted by Fraccaroli: "In Trachiniis, quæ Sophoclis fabula maximum numerum habet, septies invenias".[3]

[1] Rh. M. 46, pp. 25–46.
[2] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Heracles (1895), I, p. 153.
[3] Fraccaroli, J., De Euripidis scribendi artificiis, Augustæ Taurinorum, 1885.

The words ἀρτίκολλος, ἀρτίπους, ἀρτίχριστος form a group of compounds appearing in this play alone of Sophocles's extant plays. Euripides has a liking for this compound. Cf. ἀρτίδακρυς, Med. 903; ἀρτιμαθής, Hec. 687; ἀρτίπλουτος, Suppl. 742; ἀρτίφρων, Med. 295, I. T. 877; ἀρτιθανής, Alc. 600. The compound καλλιβόας, Trach. 640, seems to be of great significance in view of the fact that Sophocles has but two compounds of καλλι-, the other also in a late play (O. C. 682), while Euripides has no less than twenty compounds of this word. Moreover, the καλλιβόας αὐλός is modelled on the καλλίφθογγον κιθάραν of Heracles 350. This characteristically Euripidean compound is found also in Ion 169 and I. T. 222.

The repetitions so frequent in Euripides appear in this play, as in the Philoctetes and the Œdipus Coloneus, in considerable number. There are ten in this play, fifteen in the Philoctetes and thirteen in the Œdipus Coloneus. In the earlier plays of Sophocles, with the exception of the Ajax, there are notably few, the Antigone having but three, the Œdipus Tyrannus four. In metre Sophocles has been plainly influenced in this play by Euripides. The only κομμός of Sophocles which is not antistrophic is found in the Trachinians, vv. 879–895. Euripides employed such irregular κομμοί largely in the last ten years of his life, and the lyric κομμοί without responsion begin with the Heracles. They are found besides in the Helen, the Bacchants and the Iphigenia at Aulis, and in the Trachinians of Sophocles. As Euripides was the great innovator in the κομμός there can be no doubt that Sophocles was in this case too the imitator.

The case for the priority of the Heracles stands thus. In the Trachinians Sophocles is indebted to other plays of Euripides, notably, as Professor Earle has pointed out[1], to the Alcestis and the Medea, for scenes, motives and phraseology, to the Andromache, as well as to the Medea (see Professor Earle's discussion of the Medea, op. cit., pp. 15–17), for the construction of the prologue; and perhaps also (as I think) the character

[1] Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 33, l. c.

of Andromache, as well as that of Alcestis, suggested the outline of the devoted wife Deianira, although the delicate and beautiful coloring of that figure in the Sophoclean play owes nothing to Euripides. The metre of the play shows markedly the influence of the late Euripidean style. These points indicate a late date for the Trachinians. Its dependence on the Heracles itself is most apparent in the motive of the sleeping-scene, introduced without sufficient dramatic justification and containing a character of no use or meaning in the development of the plot, one whose appearance is perfunctory and due merely to the corresponding character in the Euripidean original. The rest of the play, if analyzed in the light of this fact, will be seen to have derived much from the Heracles and to justify Wilamowitz's statement that the play of Euripides prompted Sophocles to compose his Trachinians.

The Andromache.

The Andromache has been perhaps more variously dated and more the subject of dispute than any other play of Euripides with the exception of the Heraclidæ. This is due to its pointed political allusions, which must have been perfectly transparent to its audiences, which, however, have been interpreted by critics of a later day in quite opposing fashions and as pointing to various times of composition.

The information given by the scholia is as follows:

ταῦτά φησιν Εὐριπίδης λοιδορούμενος τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις διὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρεσπονδήκεσαν εἰς Ἀθηναίους. ἐξῆς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἴς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ φιλοχρημάτους κακῶς λέγει. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λακώνων πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοματισθὲν προστίθησιν ἔπος· ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρτην ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδέν. καὶ φαίνεται γεγραμμένον τὸ δρᾶμα ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου. (Schol. Vat. on v. 446.)

The Venice scholion contains the same with the insertion after the citation from Aristotle of the words: *εἰλικρινῶς δὲ τοὺς*

τοῦ δράματος χρόνους οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν· οὐ δεδίδακται (*δέδεικται* codd.) *γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν· ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγραφῆναί φησι τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Δημοκράτην.*

Modern critics have assigned the play to various years of the Peloponnesian war. Hardion puts it as late as 412–411, Hermann and Welcker assign it to 421–420, Müller and Pflugk to 420–418, Boeckh, Petit, and Hartung to 419–418, Fix to 422–421, Zirndorfer to 423–422, and Firnhaber to 431–430. Wilamowitz counts the play with the oldest group, Alcestis, Medea, Heraclidæ and Hippolytus, and maintains the accuracy of the statement of the Vatican scholion that the play was written *ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου.*

Murray in his recent edition puts the Andromache between the Hippolytus and the Hecuba. Bergk has given much attention to the dating of this play. His earlier opinion[1] was that the Andromache was brought out at Argos in the early part of the nineteenth Olympiad, before the battle of Mantinea, by the Argive Democrates or Timocrates, a musician who was a friend of Euripides, and that Euripides's intimacy with Alcibiades and his interest in the political aims of the latter led to the choice of Argos for the representation of the play. He afterward[2] came to the conclusion that the play was written for and performed before an Athenian audience in the second year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, that it was brought out in the name of Menecrates of Argos, whose influence is shown in the conservative character of the melic parts. This theory rests on the remark of the scholiast *ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγραφῆναί φησι τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Δημοκράτην* and on an inscription discovered in Athens, and published in 1878,[3] according to which . . . *νεκράτης* won the first prize in tragedy *ἐπ' Αλκαίου.*

I will first consider the opinion of Firnhaber[4], who definitely puts the composition of the play in the year 431 B. C., before

[1] Bergk, Griech. Lit., III., pp. 544 ff.
[2] Hermes, 13, pp. 487 ff.
[3] Mitth. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst., III, 108.
[4] Firnhaber, Philologus, 3, pp. 408 ff.

the death of Pericles. He finds an allusion to the faithlessness, cruelty, and covetousness shown by Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war in lines 445 ff.:

> *ὦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν*
> *Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,*
> *ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,*
> *ἑλικτὰ κοὐδὲν ὑγιὲς, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ*
> *φρονοῦντες, ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.*
> *τί δ' οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν; οὐ πλεῖστοι φόνοι;*
> *οὐκ αἰσχροκερδεῖς; οὐ λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν*
> *γλώσσῃ, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφευρίσκεσθ' ἀεί;*
> *ὄλοισθ'.*

He sees in lines 471 ff., *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν πόλεσι δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες κ. τ. λ.*, a contrast between the Spartan government and the single rule of Pericles, in which according to Thucydides, II, 55: *ἐγίγνετο λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή*. He finds a reference to Aspasia in line 631 and believes that in the defense of the *νόθος* Molossus the poet is in reality defending the legitimizing of the son of Pericles and Aspasia, which perhaps took place in the year 431 by the annulling of the previous Periclean law[1], *μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας*. He refers the lines 734 ff.:

> *καὶ νῦν μέν, οὐ γὰρ ἄφθονον σχολὴν ἔχω,*
> *ἄπειμ' ἐς οἴκους· ἔστι γάρ τις οὐ πρόσω*
> *Σπάρτης πόλις τις ἥ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν φίλη,*
> *νῦν δ' ἐχθρὰ ποιεῖ, τὴν ἐπεξελθεῖν θέλω*
> *στρατηλατήσας, ὥστε χειρίαν λαβεῖν·*
> *ὅταν δὲ τἀκεῖ θῶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐμήν,*
> *ἥξω,*

to the Spartan expedition of the year 431, which, though it took place some months later, might, he thinks, easily have

[1] Plutarch, Pericles, 37.

been foreseen and so foretold by the poet. He sees a reference to the great plague in line 1044, *νόσον Ἑλλὰς ἔτλα, νόσον*, and finds that the appearance of the *dea ex machina* with her words of promise and comfort for Peleus is motived by Euripides's desire thus indirectly to give words of consolation to Pericles for the loss of his two sons and his sister. Finally he argues that lines 1244 ff., with their reference to the Molossians, must have been composed before 429, in which year the Molossians joined the Spartans against the Athenians.[1]

Firnhaber's argument does not lack ingenuity and apparent plausibility, but it has the vice of interpreting facts in the light of a theory instead of basing a theory on the facts. He is eager to prove by allusions in this play, as he was also eager to show by his interpretation of the Heraclidæ, an intimate personal and political relation between Pericles and Euripides. This fixed idea dominates his argument.

To consider his main points: the violent attack on Sparta is not more appropriately assigned to the first years of the war than to later years, for example 431 (Thuc. V, 35, 39), 420 (43–45), 416 (105: *ἐπιφανέστατα ὧν ἴσμεν τὰ μὲν ἡδέα καλὰ νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ξυμφέροντα δίκαια*). The lines 471 ff., where Euripides dilates upon the evils of *δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες*, evidently have an entirely local Athenian reference. This reference would have no point during the life of Pericles, who ruled Athens without a rival in spite of murmurs against him and attacks on him (Thuc. II, 65). Firnhaber's interpretation of the passage as an exaltation of the Athenian government over the Spartan constitution is trivial. The theory that Euripides is defending the relation of Pericles and Aspasia in his treatment of the characters of Andromache and Molossus is in contradiction of the chorus, lines 465 ff.:

> *οὐδέ ποτε δίδυμα λέκτρ' ἐπαινέσω βροτῶν*
> *οὐδ' ἀμφιμάτορας κόρους·*

[1] Thuc., II, 80.

ἔριδας οἴκων δυσμενεῖς τε λύπας.
μίαν μοι στεργέτω πόσις γάμοις
ἀκοινώνητον ἀνδρὸς εὐνάν.

If this play was written before the death of Pericles, it is much more likely that these lines would have called to mind the criticisms on his private life that were rife in Athens than that lines 713–714:

ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ κείνης δυστυχεῖ παίδων πέρι,
ἄπαιδας ἡμᾶς δεῖ καταστῆναι τέκνων,

should have suggested the loss of Pericles's legitimate sons and his desire to legitimize his son Pericles.

Firnhaber's argument is at its weakest in his attempt to explain lines 733 ff. in a way to make the passage refer to the early years of the war. In his desire to have the πόλις in question mean Platææ he distorts the natural syntax of the lines and ignores the logical connection of thought. Menelaus says: "I will go home; for there is, not far from Sparta, a city which once was friendly, but now is making unfriendly demonstrations". Firnhaber understands the lines to mean, "I will go home; for there is, not far (from this country), a city which was once a friend of Sparta, etc.". According to this rendering Firnhaber must supply τῆσδε τῆς χθονός after οὐ πρόσω and take Σπάρτης which follows immediately with φίλη at the end of the verse. Thus γὰρ has no sense after ἄπειμ' ἐς οἴκους, and nothing could have suggested such an interpretation of the sentence except the necessity of finding here a reference which would suit the theory of the early dating of the play.

The references to the Molossians at the end of the play have doubtless a political meaning, but Firnhaber is certainly not justified in arguing that they must have been composed before 429 B. C., because the Molossians in that year joined the Spartans in hostility to Athens[1]. Friendly relations existed

[1] See Bergk, Hermes, XVIII, p. 506.

later between Athens and the Molossians, and no argument for the date of the play can properly be based on Euripides's allusions to contemporary events of which we have absolutely no knowledge.

In line 1044, νόσον Ἑλλὰς ἔτλα, νόσον, it is possible that the force of νόσον, used here, as often, in a figurative sense, may have been intensified by the recollections of the horrors of the plague; but even so it is not a necessary deduction that the verse was written in the time "wo die pest bereits ein jahr gewüthet". Firnhaber's arguments to prove the early date of the Andromache from the political allusions contained in it must be condemned as ineffectual. He is fanciful in his interpretation and entirely unsatisfactory in his explanation of the two striking passages, lines 733–736 and 471–473, which offer the most tangible suggestions for dating the play by references to contemporary history.

The dating of Hardion is interesting as one of the earliest of modern attempts to date the play from its political illusions. His interpretation is dramatic; but to state his theory is almost to refute it. He says:[1] "Plus j'examine cette Tragédie, & plus je persiste à croire, que dans le caractére d'Andromaque & de Pélée, Euripide a voulu donner un tableau de la ville d'Athénes dans l'estat de foiblesse où elle se trouva après le combat d'Orope; elle n'avoit ni troupes, ni vaisseaux ni argent; la plus grande partie de ses alliez l'avoient abandonnée; & il ne restoit de ressource aux Athéniens, pour se garantir de leur ruine totale, que dans leur courage & leur fermeté. And later p. 271: "il n'est pas vraysemblable qu'Euripide eût parlé, comme il a fait, de la prospérité & de la puissance des Lacédémoniens avant la vingtiéme année de la guerre du Péloponnése: ou qu'il les eût apostrophez si durement pendant que la tréve subsistoit entre l'un & l'autre peuple". Of verses 471 ff., he says (p. 272): "Ce passage peut, ce me semble, s'appliquer très-heureusement à l'admiration du Conseil des 400. dont le peuple témoigna beaucoup de mécontente-

[1] Dissertation sur l'Andromaque: Memoires de l'Academie, Vol. 8 (1733), p. 269 sq.

ment, je ne vois aucune autre circonstance de l'histoire d'Athénes pendant la vie d'Euripide, à laquelle il puisse convenir". Euripides would hardly have presented to his audience an Athens symbolized by the *βάρβαρος* Andromache and the old man Peleus. The Electra might afterwards call to the minds of Greeks Athens fallen from her glory, but she was *'Αγαμέμνονος κούρα*, a Greek princess. It is pushing allegorizing quite too far to see in all unhappy heroines a type of sorrowing Athens. Further, *δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες* is a phrase which suits very ill the situation in 411. The words naturally refer to two men who would be *τύραννοι* at the same time, not to the struggle between oligarchy and democracy. Again it is evident from Thucydides that Sparta recovered her prestige by the battle of Mantinea, and that it would be quite reasonable for a poet to speak as Euripides does of the prosperity and power of the hated Lacedæmon long before the twentieth year of the war.

None of Hardion's positions are tenable, and no one has accepted his dating.

Two of the most recent expressions of opinion about the date of the play are those of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and of Bergk. Both in the Analecta Euripidea (1875) and in his edition of the Heracles Wilamowitz upholds the opinion given in the scholia on line 446. He says (Anal. Eur., *loc. cit.*): "tempus rectius quam plerique recentiores definivit vetus grammaticus; nam numeri fabulam annis 430–424 adtribuunt, neque historia obstat". Again (Herakles, I. 143): "Eine anzahl von dramen des Euripides weisen sich durch einen gemeinsamen altertümlicheren und strengeren stil als verwandt aus; es sind Alkestis Medeia Hippolytus Andromache Herakleiden. sie fallen alle teils nach urkundlichen angaben, teils nach sicheren geschichtlichen anspielungen vor 425". "Von der Andromache hat das richtig schon Aristophanes von Byzanz erschlossen schol. 445. die entgegengesetzten ausführungen von Bergk sind nur dafür lehrreich, wie dieser ebenso wunderbar gelehrte

wie scharfsinnige mann scharfsinn und gelehrsamkeit dazu zu gebrauchen pflegt, die zeugnisse erst zu zerstören, damit er sie für seine eignen einfälle benutzen könne" (ibid., footnote 49).

It appears from these citations that Wilamowitz's grounds for placing the Andromache among the earliest extant dramas are metrical and stylistic. But in these respects the Andromache shows very great divergences from the Alcestis, Medea, Heraclidæ and Hippolytus, and coincides with the middle group.

To take up the points in detail: Rumpel's investigations of the resolutions in the trimeter show a wide divergence between the Andromache and the earlier group, the Andromache having an average of a resolution to every six lines, the four early plays one to every sixteen and a half lines. Further the Andromache has one line (which Wilamowitz rejects) with three resolutions, line 333: *Μενέλαε, φέρε δὴ διαπεράνωμεν λόγους*. This combination of anapæst, tribrach, and dactyl appears only in the later dramas, and there are but ten instances of it. The play contains also a line with two tribrachs and one with two dactyls (lines 40, 1157), cases of which, as Rumpel says, appear almost exclusively in the later plays.

Wilamowitz notes the use of "enoplic dochmiacs" in the Heracles as one proof of its composition after 424. He mentions the fact that these are found only in the Andromache, Troades, Ion, Iphigenia Taur., Helen, Phœnissæ, Orestes and Bacchæ. Here, then, is another metrical point of coincidence between the Andromache and the later dramas. The Andromache contains two duets, or *ἀμοιβαῖα*, of which the Medea, Heraclidæ, and Hippolytus offer no examples, and two monodies.

Another mark of later composition is the irrelevancy of the chorus songs to the situation and the wandering and vague interest of the chorus in the fate of the principal actors. Of the first stasimon Friederich says: "Est autem carmen ex eo genere quæ ipsa rerum condicione neglecta quæ antecedunt epicorum more narrant et ab ovo quasi Ledæ, ut aiunt, exordium

faciunt". This criticism is deserved by the other choral songs as well, the burden of all of which is foreign to the dramatic situation. It is instructive in this connection to compare the choral songs in the Hecuba, lines 629–656, and in the Andromache, lines 274–308:

ἐμοὶ χρῆν συμφοράν,
ἐμοὶ χρῆν πημονὰν γενέσθαι,
Ἰδαίαν ὅτε πρῶτον ὕλαν κ. τ. λ.[1]

ἦ μεγάλων ἀχέων ἄρ' ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτ' Ἰδαίαν
ἐς νάπαν ἦλθ' ὁ Μαίας τε καὶ Διὸς τόκος κ. τ. λ.[2]

The motive of the songs is the same, the woes that have come from the judgment of Paris. In the Hecuba the song suits the situation of the captive Trojan women, who have just heard the recital of the death of Polyxena and see Hecuba prostrate before them. In the Andromache, however, there is, as Friederich says in the quotation above, no connection between the condition of things on the stage, where Andromache and Hermione have just concluded a violent dispute, and the judgment of Paris. The chorus of the Hecuba is expanded in the chorus of the Andromache, and reminiscences of it appear elsewhere in the Andromache (cf. lines 103–104). A comparison of the two passages will clearly show the originality of the Hecuba, which puts the Andromache at least after 425.

The frequency of the repetition of words in the figure known as ἐπίζευξις has been mentioned often in the discussion of the other plays as an indication of the period of composition. In the Alcestis I have counted ten such repetitions (the large number being accounted for by the character of the drama, in that it takes the place of a satyr-play), in the Medea five, in the Heraclidæ two, in the Hippolytus ten, and in the Andromache seventeen or eighteen, the Andromache thus clearly approaching the freedom of the latest plays.

[1] Hecuba, vv. 627 ff.
[2] Andromache, vv. 274 ff.

It appears, then, that Wilamowitz is not justified in his vague statement that the Andromache belongs stylistically with the older plays, since in freedom of trimeter resolutions, expansion of the lyric parts, irrelevancy of the choral songs, and frequency of the repetition of words, it has the stamp of later composition.

Bergk's exact dating of the play in 422 rests, as I have said, upon an inscription discovered at Athens and published in the Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts for 1878. He identifies the . . . νεκράτης of this inscription with the Democrates of the scholiast, and regards him as a ὑποδιδάσκαλος for Euripides. He had previously also noted the probability of the identity of Democrates with the Argive Timocrates of the biography. Bergk thinks it improbable that a poet whose name is not mentioned elsewhere than in this inscription should have gained the first tragic prize in 423–422, "da Sophokles und Euripides damals die Bühne beherrschten und die μέλη des einen wie die ἐπύλλια des andern als der höchste Gewinn des grossen Festfeiers betrachtet werden, s. Aristoph. Frieden, 531". Euripides, however, gained the first prize but four times in his life and we are very far from having a complete list of the tragedians who gained first prizes in the years when the first prize did not fall to either Sophocles or Euripides. In our dearth of information, then, it seems hardly safe to date the Andromache, as Bergk does, on the strength of this inscription and against the tradition that the play was not given in Athens. To gain further evidence for his date, Bergk emends the scholion καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρεσπονδήκεσαν εἰς Ἀθηναίους to καὶ γὰρ Μένδην καὶ Σκιώνην ἀποστήσαντες παρεσπονδήκεσαν. This of course seems to give him valuable historical facts for the dating of the play, but it is palpably a manufacturing of evidence and merits the severe judgment of Wilamowitz already cited.

Unlike Wilamowitz, who believes that Euripides, however much detested by Aristophanes on other grounds, never-

theless held the same political views as the comic poet, Bergk maintains that Euripides in this play is supporting Cleon. Of lines 471 ff. he says, "im Hause wie im Staate bedarf es eines einheitlichen kräftigen Regimentes, welches den rechten Augenblick zu benutzen versteht; daher entscheidet sich der Tragiker für die *φαυλοτέρα φρὴν αὐτοκρατοῦς ἑνός* d. h. für Kleon". He says of the poet, "Euripides ist eine leicht erregbare für jeden Eindruck empfängliche Natur; so folgt er auch in der Politik der Strömung des Tages, ist fremden Einflüssen zugänglich; er hat eben keine feste politische Ansicht; ein Charakter, der treulich die einmal gewonnene Ueberzeugung wahrt, konnte unmöglich in der Andromache mit allen Mitteln seiner Kunst das Kriegsfeuer schüren und im nächsten Jahre in dem Kresphontes das Glück des Friedens preisen". The truth of this last statement of Bergk's is so palpable that it forms a strong argument against his dating of the play. Quite unconscious of the *petitio principii* involved in his argument, he proceeds, "Die öffentliche Stimmung war eben im Laufe weniger Monate völlig umgeschlagen, so stimmt auch Euripides, der vor keiner Inconsequenz zurückscheut, in den lauten Jubel bei".

The Erechtheus, in which comes the chorus *κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις κ. τ. λ.*, was composed a little before the peace of Nicias[1]. The Cresphontes, too, with its invocation of *Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε* seems to have preceded that peace by not many years. Cf. line 3, *ζῆλός μοι σέθεν ὡς χρονίζεις*.

Bergk is right in saying that to have written the Andromache at the period before the Peace of Nicias in which Euripides wrote the other plays with their praise and exaltation of peace is most inconsistent and unreasonable and betrays a fickle, irresponsible soul. *Sed secundum datur* in this case. The Andromache was not written in this period.

Zirndorfer also puts the date of the Andromache in the second year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, inferring this date from the metre and from the political allusions. He finds that

[1] Plut. Nicias, 9. Meineke, Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumsw., 1843, p. 185.

in the matter of resolutions in the trimeter the Andromache stands between the Hecuba and the Heracles. He puts the Hecuba in the last year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, the Heracles in the third of the eighty-ninth, thus leaving for the Andromache Olympiad 89.1 or 89.2. It is of course impossible to date a play definitely in this fashion. The number of resolutions in the trimeter is an important general indication of the period in which a play was composed, but neither consciously nor unconsciously could Euripides well have used a fixed arithmetical progression in the number of resolutions which he permitted himself in writing his dramas.

Zirndorfer and Bergk both refer the general political "Tendenz" of the play to the embitterment felt in Athens against Sparta because of the defection of Scione and Mende immediately after the truce. (Cf. Thuc., IV, 122–123.)

There were, however, other occasions in the course of the Peloponnesian war when the Athenians were greatly embittered against the Spartans, accusing them of bad faith, and Zirndorfer and Bergk fail to show that this occasion fits the allusions in the play more inevitably than several others. Moreover the date which they advocate is entirely inconsistent with the references to the prosperity of Sparta. They tell of a Sparta hated for her selfishness, cruelty, and treachery, but still preëminently successful and renowned for soldiery.

Cf. v. 449, *ἀδίκως εὐτυχεῖτ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα*, and

vv. 724–726, *εἰ ἀπῆν δορὸς*

τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις δόξα καὶ μάχης ἀγών,
τἄλλ' ὄντες ἴστε μηδενὸς βελτίονες.

These words could not have been written of Sparta in the years between Sphacteria and Mantinea, at which time Thucydides expressly says that the Spartans were taxed throughout Greece with cowardice, as a result of their misfortunes at Sphac-

teria, and with slowness and ineffectiveness in war. This reproach Thucydides says they did away with by their victory at Mantinea. See Thuc. V. 75 : *καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἔς τε μαλακίαν διὰ τῆν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορὰν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βραδυτῆτα ἐνὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τύχῃ μέν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, κακιζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.* The phrase *τύχῃ μὲν κακιζόμενοι* contrasts with the Euripidean *εὐτυχεῖτ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.* Again, in relating the Argive hopes of supremacy in the Peloponnesus, Thucydides[1] says : *κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἥ τε Λακεδαίμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἤκουσε καὶ ὑπερώφθη διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς, οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἄριστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου.* This also fails to accord with the *εὐτυχεῖτε* and the *δορὸς δόξα* and *μάχης ἀγών* of the Andromache.

The Andromache must, then, have followed the battle of Mantinea. The tone of it is exactly in accord with the Athenian feeling toward Sparta after that battle. And there are other points in the play which confirm that dating of it. There is a passage in the Andromache which gives so definite a political reference that the right interpretation of it gives a clearly approximate date for the play. This reference Bergk, in my opinion, interpreted correctly in his earlier discussion, though he gave up his interpretation later. The passage is the speech of Menelaus, lines 733–737 :

> *ἄπειμ' ἐς οἴκους· ἔστι γάρ τις οὐ πρόσω*
> *Σπάρτης πόλις τις ἥ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν φίλη,*
> *νῦν δ' ἐχθρὰ ποιεῖ κ. τ. λ.*

Of this he rightly says :[2] "Eine unverkennbare Hindeutung auf Mantinea findet sich 733". In his later discussion, however, he says : "Man muss an Argos fest halten, denn die Politik der Athener hatte von aller Zeit her das benachbarte aber ebendeshalb verfeindete Argos in den Kreis ihrer Beziehungen gezogen".

[1] Thuc. V, 28.
[2] Griech. Litt., III, p. 544.

I believe that Bergk in his earlier reference of this passage to Mantinea had discovered the right application of *πόλις τις*, and he alone, so far as I know, has understood this correctly. With this interpretation, however, he makes the wrong inference for the date of the play, putting it in 420, to which year its tone is obviously unsuited, and referring this passage to the events related in Thucydides, V. 38. "Eben in diese Zeit, Ol. 90.1, oder das nächste Jahr wird die Aufführung der Tragödie fallen, die jedenfalls vor der Schlacht bei Mantinea, welche die politischen Verhältnisse wesentlich umgestaltete, gedichtet sein muss".

That the reference in these lines must be to Mantinea rather than to Argos, as has been generally assumed, and as Bergk himself later believed, is clear to one that considers the relations between Sparta and these two cities. Fix pointed out that Menelaus's words :

> *πόλις τις ἥ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν φίλη,*

do not suit Argos, a city of which Thucydides says that it was the constant enemy of Sparta, *Λακαδαιμονίοις αἰεὶ διάφορον.*[1] The Mantineans, on the contrary, fought on the Spartan side against Demosthenes in Acarnania in 426 and seceded from the Spartan alliance in 421[2].

In my discussion of the date of the Suppliants, which celebrates the alliance made in 420 with Argos, I spoke of the evidence for a personal relation of friendship between Euripides and Alcibiades. I should not say with Bergk that Alcibiades found Euripides a "gefügiges Werkzeug für seine Pläne und Ränke", but there are, I believe, strong grounds for holding that Euripides was impressed by the magnificent personality of Alcibiades, and that he admired and sympathized with his great kinsman Pericles. In the fifth book of Thucydides there is plenty of evidence of the activity of Alcibiades in the Peloponn-

[1] Thuc. V, 29.
Thuc. III, 107–109.

nesus against Sparta, and in the sixth book Alcibiades boasts of his achievement in bringing about the battle of Mantinea: *Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς μίαν ἡμέραν κατέστησα ἐν Μαντινείᾳ περὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἐξ οὗ περιγενόμενοι τῇ μάχῃ οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν βεβαίως θαρσοῦσιν.*[1] It was Alcibiades that sent the message inviting the Mantineans and Argives to send representatives to Athens which resulted in the alliance which Euripides celebrates in the closing lines of the Suppliants. His influence with them is proved by the fact that, when the Salaminia was sent to fetch Alcibiades from Sicily, orders were given not to arrest him for fear of alienating the Argives and Mantineans, whose participation in the expedition was ascribed to him[1]. It is entirely natural that the bitterness felt by Alcibiades and his followers after the battle of Mantinea, from which they hoped so much, should be reflected in the Andromache. The identification of the city *οὐ πρόσω Σπάρτης* is overwhelmingly convincing, if one consider the history of the years 421–417, as Thucydides gives it.

I find another argument for my dating of the play in the lines 471 ff.:

οὐδὲ γ' ἐνὶ πόλεσι δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες κ. τ. λ.

I believe that there is here a reference to the state of affairs in Athens, which brought about the ostracism of Hyperbolus. Ostracism had not been employed in Athens since the choice between Pericles and Thucydides, son of Melesias, in the year 442. The people still voted in the first ecclesia of the sixth prytany whether to employ ostracism or not in the current year.[2] In the first years of political prominence of Alcibiades, his imperious temper and the bitterness of the rivalry between him and Nicias brought another vote of ostracism. But times had changed, and this type of deadly political duel was not suited to the new order of things. The affair took an unexpected

[1] Thuc. VI, 61, 24–25.
[2] Arist., Pol. Ath., 43, 5.

turn, and ostracism was deprived of its prestige forever by the ostracizing of Hyperbolus, *οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως.*[1]

Beloch and Holm place the ostracism of Hyperbolus after the battle of Mantinea in opposition to Kirchhoff, Gilbert, and Busolt, who place the affair before that battle. Beloch says:[1] "Das Jahr des Ostracismus ist nicht überliefert. Auf 417 führt Theopomp. fr. 103, und eine Erwägung der politischen Lage. . . . Immerhin bleibt die Möglichkeit, dass Hyperbolus schon im Jahre 418 oder erst 416 verbannt worden ist".

It seems more likely that the extreme measure of the voting to use ostracism should have been adopted after the battle of Mantinea, in which the fruit of Alcibiades's leadership was apparent, than before, considering that he had been in politics so short a time. His first appearance in public matters had been in 420, in connection with the Argive alliance. Two years later came the battle of Mantinea, in which an Athenian contingent fought as allies of Argos and Mantinea. The question of Athenian policy was sharply defined by this battle — Spartan with Nicias or anti-Spartan with Alcibiades. To this situation the verses 471–485 are well-suited and there can be no question that the writer of the Suppliants and the Andromache preferred the *τυραννίς* of Alcibiades with his Argive affiliations to that of the Laconizing Nicias.

To resume, then, the Andromache could not have been composed in the early years of the war, as the scholiast on line 446, Firnhaber, Wilamowitz, Murray, and others maintain, because its metrical and stylistic peculiarities sever it from the early group and because no reasonable explanation can be found in the events of the first year of the war for its obvious political allusions. It cannot have been written between Sphacteria and Mantinea, as Bergk, Zirndorfer, and others believe, because Spartan success and prestige are emphasized in

[1] Thuc. VIII, 73.
[2] Beloch, Griech. Geschichte, I, p. 577. Cf. Attische Politik, p. 339 ff.

this play, though with bitter dislike of Sparta, and we are told repeatedly and emphatically by Thucydides that during that period Spartan reputation was diminished throughout Greece, and that only by the battle of Mantinea did Sparta regain the prestige lost at Sphacteria. Finally, the date 418–417 suits the style of the play, explains the reference in *πόλις τις οὐ πρόσω* and in *δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες*, and is in accord with the bitterness openly displayed against a victorious Sparta.

The battle of Mantinea took place in June of the year 418. The Andromache was composed after that battle, in the course of 418–417, and may have been produced in Argos after the overthrow of the short-lived oligarchy established under Spartan auspices and the restoration of the democracy in the summer of 417.

The Ion.

The attempts to date the Ion exactly have not been successful. No convincing parodies on it have been noted, the references in it to political events, unlike those in the Heraclidæ, Suppliants, and Andromache, do not point inevitably to a single year, and its relations to other plays are not of an absolutely decisive character.

It has been put as early as 428–425 by those who see in the mention of the promontory of Rhium in the speech of Athena (line 1572) a reference to the naval engagement off Rhium in 429, in which the Athenians were victorious.[1] Thucydides gives a detailed account of the battle, and Pausanias says that the Athenians built a stoa at Delphi in honor of their victory[2]. It has been argued that the prominence given the description of the architecture at Delphi is significant in this regard.

Hermann believes that the play was composed no later than 424–421. "Est autem, quantum ex numeris colligi potest,

[1] See Boeckh, Græc. Trag. Princ.
[2] Thuc., II, 90–92., Paus., 10, 6, 11.

scripta hæc fabula nec post Ol. 89 nec multo prius."[1] He sees in the adoption of Ion a reflection on Athenian conditions in 424 when many citizens were disfranchised for dubious parentage. Dindorf[2] places the Ion among the intermediate plays, and gives it the range of Ol. 88–91. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[3] sets the limits 420–412 for the play. Masqueray, who cites him as putting the date before 420, appears to have misunderstood his earliest statement of his opinion in the Analecta Euripidea, which he has further modified in his later utterances.[4] Zirndorfer on metrical grounds puts the play in 410. Enthoven[5] for metrical reasons, because of a supposed caricature of the Ion in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, and because of coincidences in phrase with the Helen, puts it in 412. Haigh[6] puts it in the period immediately following the Sicilian expedition, giving as his reasons for preferring this date the character of the versification and the hostility shown in the play toward the Delphic oracle. Fix held that the play was composed about 420, when "mortuo iam Cleone, Hyperbolus tantam auctoritatem apud populum consecutus est, ut fere solus regnare videretur".

The arguments for the early dating, 428–424, are not in themselves conclusive, and this dating is inconsistent with the internal character of the play, which in all its stylistic qualities diverges so greatly from the severity of the Hippolytus and even from the Hecuba, which is in some respects the forerunner of the poet's later work. It is by no means necessary that a mention of the battle of Rhium should imply that a play was written within but a few years of that event. It is evident that the Athenians regarded that battle as a notable victory, as their offering at Delphi shows. The inscription is still to be seen: *Ἀθηναῖοι*

[1] Hermann, Præfatio ad Ionem, p. xxxii.
[2] Schol. Ar., Wasps, 1, 416.
[3] Anal. Eurip., p. 154; Herakles, I, p. 144.
[4] Hermes, 18, p. 242.
[5] Enthoven, Ludovicus, De Ione Fab. Eur. Quæstiones selectæ, Bonnæ, 1888.
[6] Haigh, op. cit., p. 304.

ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ ὅπλ<α κ>αὶ τἀκροτήρια ἑλόντες τῶν πο<λεμίω>ν. "The Athenians dedicated the colonnade and the arms and the figure-heads which they took from their enemies." Pausanias's dating of the stoa is questioned on epigraphical grounds by Haussoullier, Hicks, Dittenberger, and Köhler, while others defend his statement because of the architectural evidence[1]. But in any case his statement about the inscription which mentioned the name of Phormio, the successful general, and about the sacrifice of thanksgiving at Rhium in honor of the victory, is in all likelihood correct and shows the importance attached to the victory to have been great enough to warrant a reference to that coast even in later years of the war as

γῆς παραλίας Ῥίου πέλας.

The metrical peculiarities of the play make the early dating of Boeckh and Hermann so improbable as to be practically impossible. In resolutions of the trimeter the Ion stands between the Tauric Iphigenia and the Helen. The piece has two monodies, both of the later type, one partly antistrophic and the other entirely without responsion. The alternate songs of the actors, lines 1439–1509, are of the later asymmetric type, constructed like the similar passages in the Iphigenia among the Taurians and the Helen, all three of them being recognition-scenes. Further there is an extended use of the trochaic tetrameter, the old metre used in but two extant plays by Æschylus and in one by Sophocles, revived by Euripides, its revival coinciding with increasing license in the iambic trimeter. It is found in this play in three long passages and in dialogue, whereas in the Heracles, probably the earliest extant play of Euripides in which it is used, it occurs but once and in the passage where Madness appears, sent by Hera. All but two lines here belong to her. So in the Troades it is the maddened Cas-

[1] Frazer, Pausanias, V, pp. 282 ff.

sandra who uses it and in but one passage. In the later plays it is used more freely, chiefly of course for excited utterance. Repetitions are frequent in the play in its lyrical portions, and this, as has often been noted already, is a mannerism which grows more apparent in the later plays. I find fifteen cases of ἐπίζευξις. These stylistic considerations, as has already been argued, tell against the assumption of a date as early as that which Boeckh and Hermann would establish.

The late dating of Haigh, who puts the play immediately after the Sicilian expedition, appears to me to be also untenable. This dating puts it certainly after the Helen and, in all probability, after the Tauric Iphigenia, to which plays it has many likenesses. Its priority to the Helen appears evident to me in one passage, although the argument may appear to rest on subjective and æsthetic grounds. I mean the "purpureus pannus", Helen, 243 ff., where Hermes carries away Helen χλοερὰ δρεπομέναν ἔσω πέπλων, which is a reminiscence of the exquisite lines in the Ion, 887 ff.:

ἦλθές μοι χρυσῷ χαίταν
μαρμαίρων, εἴτ' ἐς κόλπους
κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον
ἀνθίζοντα χρυσαυγῆ.

Of this passage Masqueray well says: "Point de détails inutiles, une précision lumineuse, l'effet est saisissant". The situation in the Ion is a beautiful and complete picture, in the Helen it is entirely unconvincing.

An argument for the priority of the Ion to the Iphigenia and the Helen may be found, I believe, in the recognition scenes. The ἀναγνώρισις in the Ion is similar to that in the Iphigenia both in metre and method. The recognition-scene in the Helen closely resembles that of the Iphigenia. Masqueray points out[1] that these three sets of ἀμοιβαῖα are unique

[1] Masqueray, op. cit., 257.

in their construction. Of them he says: "On a vu comment Euripide après de longs tatônnements arriva enfin à la perfections dans les trois chants de reconnaissance qui sont une des beautés de l'Hélène". The duet in the Helen Masqueray calls "le plus remarquable de tous ceux qui existent dans le théâtre des Grecs". This he regards as the climax of Euripides's efforts in this direction, and the inference is that the Helen follows the other two dramas in time of composition.

Between the Iphigenia and the Ion it is not easy to decide the question of priority. The two plays are recognition-dramas with many points in common. Part of the *ἀναγνώρισις* in each play is the *ὕφασμα*, the sampler worked by the hands of Creüsa and Iphigenia respectively. This is evidently one of the stock means of recognition such as are criticized by Aristotle in the sixteenth chapter of his Poetics: *εἴδη δὲ ἀναγνωρίσεως, πρώτη μὲν ἡ ἀτεχνοτάτη καὶ ᾗ πλείστῃ χρῶνται δι' ἀπορίαν, ἡ διὰ τῶν σημείων.* The tokens in the Ion are of the class condemned by Aristotle as inartistic, and the description of the tokens in the Iphigenia is expressly mentioned by Aristotle as being only less bad than the use of tokens — *ἐξῆν γὰρ ἂν ἔνια καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν.* The recognition of Orestes by Iphigenia on the other hand is commended by Aristotle as the model type of recognitions, where "the startling discovery is made by natural means". "Such recognition alone", he continues, "dispenses with the artificial aid of tokens and necklaces".

The recognition in the Helen, too, is *δι' εἰκότων* in that it is intimately connected with the plot itself. Menelaus recognizes Helen as his real wife when the news of the disappearance of the phantom is brought to him. Granted the existence of the phantom Helen, which is an essential part of the plot of the play, the recognition of the true Helen is brought about not by sign or tokens but by natural means. Does this mean a progression in the art of *ἀναγνώρισις* on the part of Euripides? In the Ion the we find conventional cradle, swaddling-bands, necklace, bracelets, which are condemned by Aristotle; in the Iphigenia

the description of the sampler, the spear and the lock of hair, which is characterized by Aristotle as coming next in the scale of artistic propriety, but this combined with a recognition *δι' εἰκότων*, which wins the special approbation of Aristotle; last the Helen with its perfectly natural and artistic recognition, consistent with and brought about by the exigencies of the supernatural plot. The Electra testifies that Euripides was growing critical in the matter of *ἀναγνώρισις*; for he condemns in that play without exception the tokens used by Æschylus in the Choephori, although it must be said that the means he himself adopts in the Electra also come under Aristotle's criticism. It seems to me entirely probable that there is a working out of the technique of the recognition-scene in its motiving in these three plays, Ion, Iphigenia among the Taurians, Helen, similar to that which Masqueray has pointed out in the metrical form of these same scenes.

I therefore place the Ion before the Iphigenia, which I believe to have preceded the Helen.

Vv. 1582 sqq. appear to me to contain an irrefragable argument against Haigh's dating. How could Athena be represented in the years just following the Sicilian Expedition as speaking of the islands and the sea-coast Ionian cities as "giving strength to this my land"? Considering the falling away of Chios, Miletus, Erythræ, Lebedos, Eræ, Clazomenæ, Mytilene, and Eubœa[1], it would seem impossible that the empire which was so rapidly dissolving could have been spoken of with such security and pride. It is not the political tone of Aristophanes's drama of 411, the Lysistrata. I have not found the significance which I attach to these lines mentioned by any one, but Wilamowitz makes a similar inference, which appears to me not so well founded, from lines 1590 ff., "Denn die Prophezeiung Athenas, welche die Ionier als Nachkommen Ions, Dorer und Achaeer als niedere Race behandelt, ist nach dem Winter 413–12 einfach undenkbar"[2]. I do not see that

[1] Thuc. VIII, 5 ff.
[2] Hermes, XVIII, p. 242.

the two latter stocks are treated in any way as inferior in their ascription to Xuthos and Creüsa, and I think this passage quite as possible after the year 412 as before it. But for the reason given above I agree with Wilamowitz in making "der Zusammenbruch des Reiches" the *terminus ante quem* for the play. Enthoven's argument directed toward placing the Ion and the Helen together in 412 is not valuable and, as Wilamowitz remarks of a part of it, "richtet sich selbst"[1].

Wilamowitz considers that 421 is the *terminus post quem* for the Ion. "Der sichere terminus post quem ist Erechtheus 421, ein eben so sicherer terminus ante quem der Zusammenbruch des Reiches." This he infers from the reference to the plot of the Erechtheus in Ion, lines 275 ff.

Fix's argument that the play is to be assigned to 420, when Hyperbolus's power was at its height, must be condemned as resting on hypotheses only. That Ion's long speech, lines 585 ff., contains political generalizations with a particular application addressed to his Athenian audience rather than to his father is clear. That these have Hyperbolus as their object, as has been maintained, can be by no means regarded as certain. Such pointing of allusions as this rests upon an assumption of a knowledge of the politics of the time such as we are very far from possessing. Such misgrowths of democracy as Hyperbolus were not isolated phenomena in Athens. Euripides's strictures would have been in place during any time in the Peloponnesian war after the death of Pericles.

No exact argument about the date can be gained from the attitude of criticism and hostility toward Delphi. Haigh infers a date after the Sicilian expedition on this ground, but the Andromache was certainly composed before this time and its animus toward Delphi is as bitter as that of the Ion. The Spartan predilection of the Delphic oracle was evident from the beginning of the war. Cf. Thuc. 1, 118, of the Spartans: *πέμψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον*

[1] Hermes, XVIII, p. 242.

ἔσται. ὃ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος.

The metre and style of the play suggest a late date for it. Its resemblances to the Helen and the Iphigenia make it likely that it came near them, while in the recognition-scenes it seems to show a less advanced technique than these plays. The contrasting of Ionian and Dorian, so sharply brought out by the Sicilian Expedition, may find an echo in this play in lines 1590 ff. Ll. 1584 ff. would be impossible after the Sicilian disaster and the revolt of the *σύμμαχοι*. I should, then, put its composition before the Iphigenia among the Taurians, which I assign to 414, and probably after the Sicilian Expedition had been brought before the Athenian public as a possible or probable undertaking. I place it after the Andromache of 417, to the tone of which, as regards the oracle at Delphi, it bears a close resemblance.

My date for the production of the Ion would then be the years 416–415.

The Troades.

Two sources give us the date of the Troades, Ælian in his Varia Historia, 2, 8, and a Scholion in the Wasps of Aristophanes, line 1317. Ælian's statement is: *κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνενηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα Ἐξαίνετος ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος στάδιον, ἀντηγωνίσαντο ἀλλήλοις Ξενοκλῆς καὶ Εὐριπίδης, καὶ πρῶτός γε ἦν Ξενοκλῆς — ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστι — Οἰδίποδι καὶ Λυκάονι καὶ Βάκχαις καὶ Ἀθάμαντι σατυρικῷ· τούτου δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Παλαμήδῃ καὶ Τρῳάσι καὶ Σισύφῳ σατυρικῷ. γελοῖον δέ — οὐ γάρ; — Ξενοκλέα μὲν νικᾶν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ ταῦτα τοιούτοις δράμασι.*

It is evident from this notice that the Troades was brought out in the first year of the ninety-first Olympiad, which would place its performance in the spring of 415 B. C. The scholion on the line in the Wasps (1317) coincides with this: *ὑστερεῖ ἡ τῶν Τρῳάδων κάθεσις ἔτεσιν ἑπτά.* The Wasps was performed

in 423–422, before the death of Cleon in the winter campaign of 422–421. It came out, then, in the early part of 422, seven years before the spring of 415, when the Troades was brought on the stage. The style of the play is in accord with the date of its production. It stands between the Heracles and the Tauric Iphigenia in the matter of resolved feet in the trimeter; the choral parts are greatly expanded; it contains two monodies and two *ἀμοιβαῖα*, one of each being of the asymmetric type. It has also passages in the trochaic tetrameter.

Wilamowitz finds the Troades and the other plays of the tetralogy most significant in relation to the psychology of Euripides himself at this time[1]. He calls this tetralogy "die absage an die vaterstadt" and finds that it begins the succession of contradictory and inconsistent plays, as he characterizes it and those that follow. He thinks that there is in all the dramas after the Suppliants, a bitterness of spirit for which he is inclined to make Alcibiades responsible: "im herbste 420 hat er dem Alcibiades das festlied auf seinen olympischen sieg gemacht, es liegt nahe die enttäuschung, die dieser daemonisch geniale mann so vielen der besten in seinem volke gebracht hat, auch für die verbitterung des Euripides verantwortlich zu machen". He regards it as well-nigh impossible that Euripides should have had close relations with Alcibiades in 416, "nach dem katastrophe von Melos". And one is impelled to agree to this, if Plutarch is right in saying that the decree by which the male population of Melos was put to death was advocated by Alcibiades. Admitting, however, that Alcibiades alienated such men as Euripides from himself at this time, it does not appear to follow of necessity that Euripides's work was so profoundly affected by the disillusionment as Wilamowitz believes: "dann kommen gewagte versuche, ein intriguenstück, das sich stark nach dem lustspiele neigt, die Helena, phantastisch sentimentale rührstücke, Hypsipyle und Andromeda, Aulische Iphigeneia, wieder grelle umdichtung altgeheiligter

[1] Herakles, I, 133.

sagen, Elektra, Oedipus, Orestes, eine häufung alter motive zu einem grossen schauergemälde, Phœnissen. mitten zwischen solchen scenen eine verherrlichung des *θεωρητικὸς βίος*, Antiope, endlich die Bakchen, eine darstellung der wilden geister, die ihn in dem rasenden taumel hielten, und von denen er sich in der neuen umgebung los zu machen suchte, indem er sie verkörperte".

It is fair to remember that we have a larger proportion of extant plays of Euripides belonging to the years from 415 down to the year of his death than to any other period of his literary activity. Other periods might present as many contradictions as this, were they as fully represented. Further, the more romantic character of the work of Euripides in this period is due to the "Zeitgeist" which is so apparent in all aspects of the end of the fifth century, the forerunner of the humanistic fourth century, which is indeed, as compared with the fifth, an embodiment of the *θεωρητικὸς βίος*. In this period in which Wilamowitz says that Euripides could have had no joy in his work, the latter composed the Tauric Iphigenia. This, it appears to me, is sufficient answer to the statement of Wilamowitz about this period: "der innere friede war für den dichter verloren: er hat auch kein werk mehr hervorgebracht, das uns auch nur in dem masse befreidigen könnte, wie es selbst der Herakles noch kann". The juxtaposition of the Trojan trilogy and the year fraught with potential disaster in which the Athenians sailed for Sicily is temptingly suggestive, but an examination of the remnant of the trilogy really affords little support for the hypothesis that in these plays Euripides spoke from the gloom with which his soul was filled, or that in them he renounced his country. His interest in the welfare of Athens revived speedily in the latter case. Cf. *inter alia* the closing lines of the Electra. In the Troades itself there is nothing that could be pressed to give an allusion to the situation of Athens in 416–15. In that year its outward circumstances were far from being analogous to those of Troy. Athens was prosperous and strong, its

treasury being replenished as a result of the years without campaigning and its army full of young strength that had grown up since the disastrous early years of the war. No dominating motive can be observed in the Troades, and its situations and language are largely dependent on the Hecuba and the Andromache.

The fragments of the Alexander and the sketch given by Hyginus do not yield much for the theory that this trilogy voices Euripides's deep despair. The plot involves only the recognition of the young Paris by Cassandra's gift of prophecy, by which means he is saved from death at the hands of his brother Deïphobus. The fragments of the play are chiefly sententious utterances about the uncertainties of life, the wisdom of moderation in grief, qualities of slavery, an encomium of *εὐγένεια*, disparagement of wealth, and like topics.

The fragments of the Palamedes have more character[1]. There are some lines in the style of Prometheus on his benefits to the human race by the invention of writing, some striking and much quoted verses in the lament for Palamedes:

ἐκάνετ', ἐκάνετε τὰν
πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν[2].

There are also lines which doubtless had their own meaning to the audience of the time, those quoted by Aristophanes in the Frogs, 1446 ff.:

εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷσι νῦν πιστεύομεν,
τούτοις ἀπιστήσαιμεν, οἷς δ' οὐ χρώμεθα,
τούτοισι χρησαίμεσθ', ἴσως σωθεῖμεν ἄν[3].

It is impossible for us, however, not knowing the exact circumstances in which they were written, to see the point of the verses, and Aristophanes himself seems to use them in ridicule of their ambiguous, oracular character.

[1] Aristophanes, however, calls the Palamedes *ψυχρός*. Thesm. 848.
[2] Nauck, Fragm., 588.
[3] Nauck, Fragm., 582.

I hold, then, that the date of the Trojan trilogy is not of significance in the point of reflecting changes of "Weltanschauung" on the part of Euripides or in connection with the political events of that year.

The Iphigenia among the Taurians.

The style of the Tauric Iphigenia places it indisputably among the plays of Euripides's last period[1], *i. e.*, "Helena, beide Iphigenien, Phœnissen, Orestes, Bakchen, zu welchen von verlornen aber genügend kenntlichen Andromeda, Antiope, Hypsipyle, Bakchen treten, für sie alle mit ausnahme der tauischen Iphigenia ist die entstehung im letzen jahrzehnt des dichters urkundlich bezeugt". The resolutions in the trimeter give it a place between the Troades and the Helen[2]. The trochaic tetrameters, 1204–1233, are evidence of a comparatively late composition, occurring as they do in nine plays of which six are known and the rest are believed to be of late date. Further the extended use of dochmiacs mixed with other metres, particularly the "enoplics", is emphasized by Wilamowitz as a characteristic of the later plays[3]. "Der Herakles hat nur die enoplischen dochmien in sehr breiter ausdehung angewandt, die drei letzten gesangnummern gehören ihnen ganz an, ausserdem finden sie sich in Andromache (825–65), Troerinnen (241–91), Ion (762–811 : 1445–1509), Helena (628–77), Iphig. Taur. (827–99), Phœnissen (103–192), Orestes (166–208, 1246–1310, 1353–65), Bakchen (1017–23 ; 1153–99)." That the verbal style of the play does not show the exaggerated mannerisms that are in evidence in most of the

[1] Bruhn, E., Iphigenie auf Tauris, 1874, p. 16; Wilamowitz, Herakles, 1895, I, pp. 143 ff.
[2] Rumpel, op. cit., p. 467.
[3] Wilamowitz, Herakles, I, p. 147.

later plays is due to the care which the poet has taken in its composition. Repetitions are used with moderation. The richness of poetical vocabulary, especially in the nature epithets, is characteristic of the later style.

In Frogs, 1232 ff., there is a quotation from the play:

Eur. Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολὼν
θοαῖσιν ἵπποις — Æsch. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

Roscher finds an early *terminus ante quem* for the Iphigenia in lines 46 ff. of the Acharnians, on which the scholiast says: Κελεοῦ γὰρ καὶ Τριπτολέμου. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει ἐν παιδιᾷ, σκώπτων τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἀεὶ ἡδέως ἀπαγγέλλοντα τὰ γένη ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐν Ταύροις Ἰφιγενείας.

Roscher says[1]: "Die taurische Iphigenia, die 280 [Auflösungen] zählt und desshalb von Zirndorfer in das Jahr 414 gesetzt wird, muss doch schon im Jahre 425 bekannt gewesen sein, da in den Acharnern Anspielungen darauf vorkommen. (Arist. Acharn., 47 Schol.)". There is certainly a close resemblance between the speech of Amphitheos, Ach. lines 44–50, and the beginning of the prologue of the Tauric Iphigenia:

ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος Δήμητρος ἦν
καὶ Τριπτολέμου· τούτου δὲ Κελεὸς γίγνεται,
γαμεῖ δὲ Κελεὸς Φαιναρέτην, τήθην ἐμήν,
ἐξ ἧς Λυκῖνος ἐγένετ'· ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐγὼ
ἀθάνατός εἰμ'.[2]

Compare the beginning of the Iphigenia:

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος ἐς Πῖσαν μολὼν
θοαῖσιν ἵπποις Οἰνομάου γαμεῖ κόρην,
ἐξ ἧς Ἀτρεὺς ἔβλαστεν· Ἀτρέως δὲ παῖς
Μενέλαος Ἀγαμέμνων τε· τοῦ δ' ἔφυν ἐγώ.

[1] Roscher, op. cit., p. 534.
[2] Ar. Ach., 47.

The resemblance between the passages is verbally closer than between the Aristophanic passage and any other extant prologue of Euripides. It is not, however, so close as to imply actual quotation, and the same sort of genealogy with the same vocabulary appears in the Heracles, the Ion, the Phœnissæ, and the Orestes. Since all the other indications are for a late date for this play, and since the coincidence of expression here can very well have been accidental, it must be so regarded; therefore lines 47 ff. of the Archarnians are not of significance in fixing the date of the Tauric Iphigenia.

The statement of the scholiast in this connection is worth no more than the scholia on Wasps, line 1326: ἄνεχε, πάρεχε: ἐκ Τρῳάδων Εὐριπίδου, οὗ Κασάνδρα φησίν· κ. τ. λ.,[1] or that on Birds, line 414, where the verse is said to be ἐκ τῶν μηδέπω διδαχθεισῶν Φοινισσῶν, where the statement contradicts itself[2].

The Frogs, then, appears to offer the only Aristophanic limit for the play that has been as yet discovered. A limit seven years earlier can be set by, a play of Euripides's own composition, the Helen.

Schroeder points out in detail the remarkable likeness in plot and language between the Iphigenia and the Helen[3]. He gives the plot of the two dramas as follows: "Femina a barbaro rege exteris viris infesto procul a patria invita retinetur: quæ cum iam de salute desperet, propinquum amicissimum obiisse suspicata, hic subito comparet: atque postquam paulisper quomodo perniciem effugerent deliberaverunt, rege callide decepto fuga salutem petunt a sociis in spelunca oræ abditis adiuti. Denique cum fuga nuntiata rex eos iam persecuturus sit [*sic*, but cf. Hel., lines 1624 ff.], comparet deus qui a rege postulat ut deorum voluntatem secutus hostes persequi desistat".

Schroeder concludes that the Tauric Iphigenia and the Helen

[1] Rutherford, Scholia Aristophanica, II, p. 431.
[2] Dindorf, Adnott. ad Aristoph., III, II, p. 602.
[3] Schroeder, De iteratis apud Tragicos Græcos, pp. 88 ff. Cf. also Firnhaber, Die Verdächtigungen Euripideischer Verse, Leipzig, 1860, p. 21, cited by Von Premerstein, Philologus, 1896, p. 642.

were composed about the same time. This opinion had been previously expressed by Wilamowitz: "aliquo modo cogitari potest cum Helena coniunctam Iphigeniam in scænam venire"[1].

Bruhn in the introduction to his edition of the play argues for the priority of the Iphigenia on the ground that the motives common to both plays adduced by Schroeder are elaborated in the Helen, whereas, they appear in a much simpler form in the Iphigenia. He mentions three points in each play, which he compares in arguing "dass das stärker gewürzte Gericht dasjenige war, welches der Dichter zum zweitenmal auftrug". These points are the character of Thoas and Theoclymenus, the *ἀμφιβολία* of Iphigenia and Helen in the scenes with Thoas and Theoclymenus, and the two *κομμοί* [*sic*], that between Iphigenia and Orestes and that between Helen and Menelaus. Of the first he says: "Thoas ist der blutdürstige und dabei beschränkte Barbar, der nicht abwarten kann bis die Opfer der Göttin gefallen sind (1153), der die entflohenen von Felsen herabstürzen oder pfählen will (1429), der sich anderseits von der schlauen Hellenin ahnungslos berücken lässt und läppisch genug ist, wärmere Gefühle für sich bei ihr vorauszusetzen [*sic*] (1213)". He points out that in Theoclymenus there is an exaggeration of the type found in Thoas. He compares the irony, or double meaning, used by Iphigenia in her words in deceiving Thoas with that of Helen as she deceives Theoclymenus and shows the greater elaboration of that employed by Helen. Further he shows that in the *κομμός* [*sic*] of the Helen there is a much greater elaboration in the matter of repetitions ridiculed by Aristophanes, and argues that Euripides in composing the scene in the Helen was striving to outdo the corresponding passage of the Iphigenia. In a paper by Professor W. N. Bates, published in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association for 1901, pp. cxxii ff, the priority of the Iphigenia is advocated with substantially the same arguments as those of Schroeder and Bruhn. A list of parallel passages from two of

[1] Wil., An. Eur., p. 153.

the plays is there given. Bruhn's statement of the case for the priority of the Iphigenia is excellent, but it appears to me that it can be carried further, and that the unmistakable dependence of the Helen on the other play for much that is new and striking in its plot can be demonstrated.

The prologue of the Iphigenia contains two motives belonging to the Iphigenia myth, in all probability introduced by Euripides gratuitously into his Helen, and suggested by his use of them in the Iphigenia.

The first of these is the cloud-motive in the Iphigenia, lines 27–30, the Helen, lines 44–45:

I. T. *ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου*
Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, διὰ δὲ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρα
πέμψασα μ' εἰς τήνδ' ᾤκισεν Ταύρων χθόνα.

Helen. *λαβὼν δ' μ' Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος*
νεφέλῃ καλύψας κ. τ. λ.

This trait undoubtedly belonged to the story of the substitution of the hind for Iphigenia and her carrying away by Artemis, a story which Euripides found ready to his hand. It is true that the cloud is not expressly mentioned in the one account taken from an earlier source which we possess, namely the résumé of the story as told in the Cypria, found in Proclus:[1] *Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξαρπάσασα εἰς Ταύρους μετακομίζει καὶ ἀθάνατον ποιεῖ· ἔλαφον δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κόρης παρίστησι τῷ βωμῷ.* There can be no doubt, however, that Iphigenia was snatched away in a cloud which made her invisible, as a cloud is a regular concomitant of such situations. Cf. Od. VII, 40 ff., Æn., I, 411 ff. It does not appear that there was any such episode in the story of the phantom Helen. According to some authorities Stesichorus in his famous palinode had Helen remain all the while in Sparta: *καὶ τὸν μὲν Στησίχορον ἐν τῇ ὕστερον ᾠδῇ*

[1] Proclus Grammaticus, 445, in Homeri Carmina et Cycli Epici Reliquiæ, Didot, Paris, 1844.

λέγειν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πλεύσειεν ἡ Ἑλένη ἰοὐδαμόσε[1]. Or if Herodotus follows Stesichorus in his account, the latter represents her as having been carried off by Paris, but driven by storms to Egypt: Ἀλέξανδρον ἁρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τήν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μιν ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὰ πνεύματα — ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον κ. τ. λ.[2].

It would seem that Euripides in order to transport Helen innocently to Egypt has woven into the plot of his Helen an incident that was an integral part of the material of his earlier play. It is true that von Premerstein maintains that Euripides derived this episode from Stesichorus himself. Cf. p. 646.[3] "Nach der Palinodie des Stesichorus hat Alexandros nicht die Helene, sondern ein täuschendes Trugbild (εἴδωλον) nach Troia entführt (ausdrückliche Zeugnisse S. 649: Apollodor S. 642: vgl. auch Lycophron S. 643). Die wirkliche Helena wird von Hermes (Apollodor, ebenso Euripides, vgl. S. 635 ff.), auf Zeus' Rathschluss heimlich entrückt", etc.

The citation from Apollodorus, however, by no means points conclusively to Stesichorus. The use of ἔνιοι and κατά τινας in this passage shows a discrimination in the use of authorities which von Premerstein appears to overlook.[4] ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἑλένην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ βούλησιν Διὸς κομισθῆναι κλαπεῖσαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ δοθεῖσαν Πρωτεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φυλάττειν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ παραγενέσθαι εἰς Τροίαν πεποιημένον ἐκ νεφῶν εἴδωλον ἔχοντα. Μενέλαος πέντε ναῦς τὰς ὅλας ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πολλὰς χώρας παραμείψας πολλὰ συναθροίζει χρήματα καὶ κατά τινας εὑρίσκεται παρὰ Πρωτεῖ τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ Ἑλένη, μέχρι τότε εἴδωλον ἐκ νεφῶν ἐσχηκότος τοῦ Μενελάου· ὀκτὼ δὲ πλανηθεὶς ἔτη κατέπλευσεν εἰς Μυκήνας (*sic*)[5].

[1] Dion Chrysostom, XI, 162 A.
[2] Hdt. II, 112.
[3] Von Premerstein, A., Ueber der Mythos in Euripides's Helen, Philologus, 1896, pp. 634 ff.
[4] Mythographi gr., ed. Wagner, I, p. 188.
[5] Epitome Vaticana, pp. 226 ff.

With the exception of the number of the ships everything that is told here without the restriction of ἔνιοι or κατά τινας goes back to the fourth book of the Odyssey. The rest can be referred to Euripides as well as to Stesichorus. In view of the almost universal ascription in antiquity of the invention of the εἴδωλον of Helen to Stesichorus, it seems not improbable in the absence of any countervailing evidence that the ultimate source of Herodotus's account of Helen's stay in Egypt was Stesichorus. If that is the case — and none of the passages adduced by von Premerstein disproves it — the invention of the episode of the carrying away of Helen by Hermes is due to Euripides, and it was then evidently suggested by the similar motive in his Iphigenia. This first point admits of dispute, in view of the question how far Euripides invented and how far he followed Stesichorus in his treatment of the phantom Helen. The second point, however, is indisputable. The originality of the Iphigenia is absolutely clear. This is the similarity of I. T., vv. 37–40:

θύω γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει
ὅς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν Ἕλλην ἀνήρ,

and Helen, line 154:

κτείνει γὰρ Ἕλλην' ὄντιν' ἂν λάβῃ ξένον,

and Helen, lines 441–442:

ἢ κατθανῇ
Ἕλλην πεφυκώς, οἷσιν οὐκ ἐπιστροφαί.

This is a part of the story of the Iphigenia imported into the Helen. For the originality of the Iphigenia, see Herodotus, IV, 103: θύουσι μὲν τῇ παρθένῳ τούς τε ναυαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσιν Ἑλλήνων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, κ. τ. λ.

That this likeness should exist between two plays so alike throughout and not have come from one to the other is unthinkable. Can any doubt remain which contained the mo-

tive first, when that motive is seen to be part of the myth in one play and a gratuitous invention in the other?

There is much in the workmanship of the Helen which shows "Flickarbeit", the source of which may be traced to the Iphigenia. In the first scene of the Helen immediately following the prologue Helen questions Teucer about Troy and the fate of the Greek heroes in a strain similar to that of I. T., lines 517 ff., where Iphigenia, in the words of Orestes,

> ὡς Ἑλληνικῶς ἀνήρεθ' ἡμᾶς τούς τ' ἐν' Ἰλίῳ πόνους
> νόστον τ' Ἀχαιῶν κ. τ. λ.

The parallelism between the two passages is clear. The Iphigenia is evidently the original, inasmuch as the conversation is the natural development of the situation, advancing the action toward the *περιπέτεια* and carried on between the principal personages of the drama. In the Helen the scene is introduced merely to give Helen the preliminary information which she requires as material for her laments to the chorus. It is by no means essential to the development of the plot, and Teucer is a perfunctory character who disappears completely from the play at the end of this scene.

The character of Theonoë again is as perfunctory as that of Teucer. She is not necessary to the plot, and is merely a part of the machinery of the play. Helen goes off the stage to consult her about the safety of Menelaus and so leaves the stage free for Menelaus's oncoming. That the fate of Helen and Menelaus rests partly with her gives occasion for two long argumentative speeches on the part of Helen and Menelaus, but does not advance the plot or add to it. On the contrary she delays the real *περιπέτεια*, which comes from Helen's successful tricking of Theoclymenus. She is not a convincing character, and one feels that she could have warned her brother of Menelaus's coming, had her gift of prophecy been what it should have been. She is indeed a faint reflex of the priestess Iphigenia in the other play. It is this influence that has so

transformed her charming prototype, the daughter of Proteus, Eidothoë, of the Odyssey.

The recognition scenes, as has often been noted, are parallel. The scene in the Helen reads like a travesty of the noble passages in the Iphigenia. In the one Iphigenia is sceptical:

> ξέν', οὐ δικαίως τῆς θεοῦ τὴν πρόσπολον
> χραίνεις ἀθίκτοις περιβαλὼν πέπλοις χέρα.

in the other Menelaus:

> ποίας δάμαρτος; μὴ θίγῃς ἐμῶν πέπλων.

Bruhn has pointed out the exaggeration of the succeeding scene in the Helen compared with that in the Iphigenia, while the resemblance is undoubted.

The device by which escape is effected is much simpler and more natural in the Iphigenia than in the Helen. That the image of the goddess defiled by the touch of impure hands should be cleansed by a holy lustration in the sea is reasonable, and the tale would inevitably command the respect of Thoas, who — with Tauric limitations — is god-fearing. It is a much wilder flight of fancy to suppose that the jealous and suspicious Theoclymenus, in spite of his fear and hatred of Greeks, would be so guileless as to allow one of the feared and hated race to take Helen out of sight of land, in a swift-sailing Phœnician ship, with all the equipment necessary for defense and for a voyage, in order to perform the *ἐνάλια κτερίσματα* of Menelaus. The procedure in the Iphigenia is plausible; it is forced and overdone in the Helen.

The Iphigenia is admirable in all its technique, and even the much maligned *deus ex machina* at the end is perfectly well-motived. Athena is by no means superfluous: she has much to do. She must show to Thoas that the hand of the gods is in all that has passed, she must rescue the captured Greek maidens, and before all, in this Attic play, she must ordain the manner and place of the new ceremonies of Artemis

at Halæ and Brauron. The play, which owes its inception to Attic legend and religious customs, would have been incomplete without this message of Athena. In the Helen there is nothing for the Dioscuri to do, since Menelaus and Helen have already effected their escape, except to defend the shadowy Theonoë from her brother's wrath. Their speech closely resembles that of Athena and is plainly modelled on it. Helen is to be a goddess at the island Helene as Iphigenia is to be a priestess at Brauron. Menelaus is provided for as is Orestes, but in neither case in the Helen was any further word about its characters necessary. Their later fate is mentioned only to give the Dioscuri something to say. There can be no doubt which speech is original. The answer of Thoas is in character. He yields to the new order of things because the goddess tells him to, though he was bent on slaying the δυσσεβεῖς until he heard the comments of Athena. He is represented as having a serious belief in the bloody rites of his Tauric goddess and as being εὐσεβής after his kind. The ineptitude of the speech of Theoclymenus, on the other hand, has led Nauck and van Herwerden [1] to bracket the lines. But this procedure does not seem justifiable, as there was really nothing left for Theoclymenus to say in reply to the supererogatory Dioscuri except to promise to give up his wrath against Helen and Theonoë and to pay some compliments to the sister of the *dei ex machina*, however much these may have belied his real feelings. What Flagg says with reference to the appearance of Athena in the Iphigenia is in point here [2]: "A *deus ex machina* for the sake of Thoas and the chorus would have seemed highly crude and forced". In the Helen it is to save Theonoë, who has so slight a share in the interest of the play, that they intervene.

To recapitulate, then, the Helen has borrowed from the Iphigenia most probably the cloud-motive, certainly that of the putting to death of Greeks who land on the hostile shore,

[1] Van Herwerden, Helena, 1875.
[2] Flagg, I., Iphigenia among the Taurians, Boston, 1891, Introd., p. 29.

and the trick by which the barbarian king is led to let his captives escape in the belief that they are performing sacred rites.

Theonoë, the θεσπιῳδὸς κόρη, is an unnecessary character partially suggested by Iphigenia. Teucer is another character that is introduced merely to help out the mechanism of the play in a scene modelled on a notable scene of the Iphigenia. Theoclymenus, as Bruhn has noted, is an exaggerated Thoas. The recognition-scene in the Helen is almost a travesty of the noble scene in the Iphigenia. The close of the Helen is itself motiveless, and the Dioscuri would never have appeared but for the well-motived appearance of Athena in the Iphigenia.

A comparison of these themes of the two plays answers, in my judgment, the question which Flagg puts: "We should really be glad to know whether the Iphigenia came before or after the Helen. Did a happy inspiration and successful spontaneous effort lead to an inferior attempt on the same lines? Or was Euripides able, after giving himself free rein in the semi-comic Helen, to find in it a model for such restraint and single-mindedness as were needed to produce a Tauric Iphigenia?" [1]. The Tauric Iphigenia surely preceded the Helen. We may take the appearance of that play then as our *terminus ante quem* for the Iphigenia. A *terminus post quem* is not so easily found. Bergk finds it in the Electra, which he places immediately after the Troades. His argument is this: [2] "Wenn nun in der Elektra, deren Aufführung wir Ol. 91, 2 ansetzten, am Schlusse auf die Freisprechung von Orestes vor dem Gerichte des Areopags und seine Ansiedelung in Arkadien hingewiesen wird, ohne der weiteren Verfolgung der Erinnyen und der Fahrt des Orestes zu den Tauren zu gedenken, so muss die Iphigenia später gedichtet sein". But the Orestes likewise has no Tauric episode and, as Bruhn points out, is not consistent in the closing prophecy of Apollo with the

[1] Ibid., Introd., p. 40.
[2] Griechische Litteratur-Geschichte, iii, p. 552.

undoubtedly earlier plays, the Electra and the Andromache[1]. Neither Sophocles nor Euripides bound himself to one form of myth to be followed absolutely in all the plays dealing with the same characters. The divergence in the myth would, however, make it out of the question to assume that the Iphigenia was brought out in same trilogy as the Electra. That play in all probability was brought out in the spring of 413. The very great similarity between the Iphigenia and of the Helen bring these plays near together in point of date. But this very similarity, as Bergk remarks[2], would prevent their belonging to the same set of dramas. The Electra must lie between them.

Orestes had been introduced by Euripides into his Andromache of the year 417, but only as "Nebenfigur"[3]. That a "Hauptrolle" is assigned to him in the Iphigenia, as well as in the Electra and the Orestes, points to a later date than 417 for the Iphigenia. The question of the date of the Ion enters into the question of a *terminus post quem* for the Iphigenia. The Ion has also 412 for its *terminus ante quem*. I believe that in the two romantic pieces, which evidently belong to the same period, an advance in technique in the *ἀναγνώρισις* is evident in the Iphigenia, marking it as later in composition.

The Andromache, the Ion, and the Tauric Iphigenia are characterized by an extreme bitterness toward the Delphic oracle, which suggests that they belong to the same time. The Andromache I place without hesitation in the year 417; the Ion may have come the next year; next came the Trojan trilogy, and the year 414 is left for the Iphigenia. Here Zirndorfer places it for metrical reasons, which of course cannot date minutely, but are valuable, when due care is exercised, in indicating the period of composition.

On the other hand, von Premerstein[4] finds in the Ion, as

[1] Bruhn, Einleitung, p. 16.
[2] P. 552.
[3] See also Bergk, pp. 552 ff.
[4] Philologus, 55, p. 653.

well as in the Helen, "ein Musterbeispiel eines romantischen Intriguenstückes" and holds that the Iphigenia, earlier than these two, "treads the less intricate paths of the older tragedy". It may be said, however, that some practice in the making of romantic plots is implied in the perfection of the Tauric Iphigenia, and its comparative lack of intricacy involves fewer *ἄλογα* and evinces more careful workmanship. The Ion appears to be the earliest of the romantic plays of Euripides which we possess; the Iphigenia among the Taurians shows an advance in technique which brings it near perfection[1]; the Electra is an attempt to cast in the new romantic and humanistic form the old and familiar myth already treated by Æschylus and Sophocles; the Helen with a romantic plot closely similar to that of the Iphigenia shows in some respects an advance in workmanship[2], although as a whole it is a mechanically constructed play in which the sutures are evident.

The most probable year for the Iphigenia, which evidently belongs to this group of plays, appears to be 414.

The Electra.

The Electra has been variously dated from 425 to 410. But by far the greater number of recent critics hold that the play was brought out in the spring of 413.

An argument for the year 425 is given by Zielinski as follows[3]: "Nun war es im Frühjahr 425, als unter Sophocles und Eurymedon 40 Schiffe nach Sicilien abgingen, unterdessen hatten die Syrakusaner durch Verrat sich Messanas bemächtigt, das bis dahin [*sic*] den Athenern freundlich gesinnt war. Bei keiner zweiten Gelegenheit könnten die Verse der Dioskuren El. 1347 ff.,

νὼ δ' ἐπὶ πόντον Σικελὸν σπουδῇ,

[1] Cf. Aristotle, Poetics, xvi.
[2] Cf. Masqueray, pp. 252 ff.
[3] Zielinski, Th., Gliederung der attischen Komödie, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 106–7.

ihrer Wirkung gewisser sein. Ich möchte daher die Tetralogie Elektra, Melanippe II, Andromeda, und Helena im Jahre 425, die Kalligenia des Aristophanes in die grossen Dionysien 424 datieren".

The language of the Dioscuri, however, is much more in point, if their words be referred to the expedition of 413. In line 1350:

τοῖς μὲν μυσαροῖς οὐκ ἐπαρήγομεν,

the expression μυσαροῖς, "defiled", *impuris*, could hardly be applied to the Syracusans for the entirely defensible piece of strategy by which they gained Messene, which, as Zielinski fails to mention, had had its friendly sentiments toward Athens forced upon it (at the sword's point) in the Athenian attack on it in the summer of 426[1]. These had, therefore, been of short duration. As for the Helen and the Andromeda, which also Zielinski places in this year, their dates are established by trustworthy tradition; and, as Wilamowitz says in another connection, "an urkundlichen Daten rüttelt nur die Willkür".

Haupt's arguments[2] for the year 425 are no more convincing. He sees parodies of the Electra in the Clouds and the Birds. These, however, are very far from being cogent and cannot weigh at all against the strong reasons for putting the Electra much later. The lines in question are:

El. 175 ff.:

οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγλαΐαις, φίλαι,
θυμὸν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρυσέοις ὅρμοις ἐκπεπόταμαι,

Clouds 319:

ἡ ψυχή μου πεπότηται,

Birds,

ἀνεπτερῶσθαι καὶ πεποτῆσθαι τὰς φρένας.

[1] Thuc., IV, 1; III, 90.

[2] Haupt, R., Zeitschrift für die oesterreichischen Gymnasien, 1873, pp. 660–669, cited by Keene, Electra, pp. xxxvi ff.

Keene[1] points out the usualness of this metaphor. Indeed, ἀνεπτερωμένοι is used even by Xenophon, and the figure is Sophoclean as well:

Ai., line 693: περιχαρὴς δ' ἀνεπτόμαν,

Ant., line 1307: ἀνέπταν φόβῳ

In his article on Euripides in the Encyclopædia Britannica Professor Jebb finds the play should be dated "shortly before the Orestes, which in many respects it much resembles: perhaps in or about the year 410 B. C.[2]". This view, which has nothing to commend it, is abandoned by Jebb in his edition of the Sophoclean Electra, in which he says of the Euripidean Electra that its "probable date is 413 B. C."[3].

Nauck sets aside the epilogue, vv. 1233–1359, as "Euripide indignos[4]". This would remove the one distinct reference in the play by which it has been dated. This epilogue, however, is in Euripides's style, and Jebb well says of it[5]: "It is in this closing scene, where the Dioscuri are cross-examined, that the drift of Euripides is most patent". This epilogue is essential to the Euripidean conception of the plot of the Electra and involves no contradictions such as would lead to a rejection of it. This definite reference to the Sicilian waters is also an indication of its genuineness, as it is not the sort of touch that a forger or reviser would be likely to add.

Otfried Müller[6] appears to have been the first to call attention to these verses in their significance for the date. He says that by these verses the Electra is obviously assigned to the period of the Sicilian expedition, and that there is possibly a reference to the charge of impiety under which Alcibiades lay at the time of sailing. Therefore he dates the play in 415.

[1] Keene, Euripides's Electra, 1893, p. xxxvii.

[2] Encycl. Brit., 1878, VIII, p. 677.

[3] Jebb, Sophocles, Electra, 1894, p. 101.

[4] Nauck, Euripides, I, p. lxxv (1889).

[5] Jebb, Electra of Sophocles, p. 11.

[6] Müller and Donaldson, Greek Literature, I, p. 493.

But the tone of the passage is not suited to that year with its magnificent and overpowering armament. The Dioscuri speak of *χαλεπῶν μόχθων* from which they will release the pious and upright. This would suit the condition of affairs described in the letter of Nicias, in which he tells of the hardships by which the Athenian forces are encompassed and of his own ill health [1]. It is reasonable to suppose that these verses were written after that dignified and impressive letter had been read [2] in an assembly of the Athenian people, and the second fleet had been in consequence despatched to Sicily [3]. The invasion of Attica by the Spartans at the very beginning of spring in 413 and the fortification of Decelea would give point to the expression *τοῖς μυσαροῖς* in reference to Alcibiades, who was in a threefold manner accursed, being an Alcmeonid, being under accusation for the desecration of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Hermæ, and being a traitor instructing his country's enemies where best to strike her. Bergk [4] puts the Electra immediately after the Trojan trilogy in the year 424, "als die Athener neue Verstärkungen nach Sicilien absandten". But that expedition, consisting of two hundred and fifty knights and thirty mounted archers,[5] and sent for not at a time of stress, but after a victory, would hardly justify the language of the Dioscuri [6]. The situation in the spring of 413 is certainly dramatically and historically more in keeping with the feeling of these verses of the epilogue. Bergk apparently chooses the year 414 in order to put the Tauric Iphigenia in 413, inasmuch as he desires to bring that play close to the Helen.

The date 413 has been adopted by those who have most recently given an expression of opinion, Weil, Kaibel, Wilamowitz, Bruhn, Jebb, Haigh, and others. The fact that this play

[1] Thuc., VII, 11–15.
[2] Ibid., 16.
[3] Ibid, 19.
[4] Bergk, T., Griech. Lit., III, p. 551.
[5] Thuc., VI, 94.
[6] Ibid., 71.

as compared with the other plays of its period shows something of restraint in its verbal and metrical style may be due to the conscious emulation of Euripides in writing on the theme recently handled by Sophocles.

The palpable criticism of the art of Æschylus in the matter of *ἀναγνώρισις* appears to me of great weight in assigning the Electra a place with the group of dramas, consisting of Ion, Iphigenia among the Taurians, Helen, in which *ἀναγνώρισις* plays so large a part [1]. In discussing the date of the Tauric Iphigenia, I have noted the fact that the *ἀναγνώρισις* in the Ion is of the kind recommended as least artistic by Aristotle, whereas that in the Iphigenia is made up of two elements, one mentioned as an advance on the tokens brought, as in the Ion, and the other praised as the best possible, where "the startling discovery is made by natural means". And so in the Helen, granted the plot of the phantom Helen, the *ἀναγνώρισις* of the real Helen is *ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων* and *δι' εἰκότων*. Sophocles uses the conventional signet-ring. Euripides, who has used such tokens in his Ion, has now left them far behind him and uses the scar of a wound received in play in company with Electra in Orestes's boyhood. This, too, comes under the formal recognitions condemned by Aristotle, but is an advance on the external tokens. Euripides has evidently reached in the Electra a point of technique in *ἀναγνώρισις* on which he prides himself. This, then, is in favor of putting the Electra after the Tauric Iphigenia, in which he had achieved a triumph in this respect.

The question of the relation of the Electra of Euripides to the Electra of Sophocles has been much discussed, especially since the appearance of Wilamowitz's article "Die beiden Elektren" [2]. The literature of the subject since the appearance of Wilamowitz's discussion is given by Steiger, Philologus 56, 1897.[3] With the exception of Bruhn hardly any notable critic

[1] Aristotle, Poetics, Chap. xi.
[2] Wilamowitz, Hermes, 18, 1888.
[3] Steiger, H., pp. 561–600 : Warum schrieb Euripides seine Electra?

has adopted the view advocated by Wilamowitz, which is that the Electra of Sophocles is a protest against the Electra of Euripides. According to Wilamowitz Sophocles felt that Euripides had dealt with the myth, which Sophocles regarded as a sacred heritage, entrusted to him by the Muse, in a manner frivolous and blasphemous, the absolute negation of the Sophoclean art. He therefore came forward to slay his enemy with his own weapons, that is, with an Electra. So he returns to the epic point of view, ignoring the ethical problem, and makes the murder of a mother appear natural as a duty and laudable as a heroic deed. Professor Jebb's comment on this is very apposite : " Assume for a moment that the Euripidean Electra was the earlier. Then surely when Euripides had just been renewing the impression left by Æschylus, — that matricide, though enjoined by a god, brings a fearful stain, — Sophocles would have chosen a peculiarly unfortunate moment for inviting Athenians to admire the unruffled equanimity of his Orestes.". Wilamowitz's theory, interesting as it is, does not convince; for it is at least as easy to suppose that Euripides wrote his Electra to protest against the primitive morality of Sophocles's play as to suppose that Sophocles wrote his Electra to protest against the modernizing art of the Euripidean play. And this is the theory of Jebb and Steiger. Indeed the latter believes that Euripides has consciously caricatured the Electra of Sophocles in the depiction of his Electra, and has intended to parody the myth of the heroine Electra.

Steiger sees in the Electra of Euripides a " Teufelin "[1] who goes far beyond Lady Macbeth and in whom every spark of humanity is quenched. Wilamowitz and Kaibel have equally strong words of denunciation for the character of the Euripidean Electra, although they are not so clear in assigning a motive for Euripides's drawing of the character. This view appears to me entirely perverse. Euripides has not intended to represent in Electra a fiend, but a human being driven to

[1] Op. cit., p. 573.

inhuman deeds for which bitter remorse is at once felt. Some of the criticisms made on her acts are trivial and absurd and read into Euripides's conception what he neither said or intended. Euripides meant that her deed should shock us, but did not intend here any more than in his Andromache, who is equally artificial and repellent, to paint a repugnant character.

But both *a priori* and from the contents of the two plays the position of Jebb and Steiger appears more reasonable than that of Wilamowitz, and the close comparison of the plays which has been made from various points of view since the discussion was started by the appearance of Wilamowitz's article (by which he deemed the question settled forever, cf. " ich kenne keine Instanz, welche gegen die vorgetragene Datirung zu sprechen auch nur scheinen könnte " [1]) has brought out the priority of the Sophoclean play.

Ribbeck[2] has pointed out criticisms of Sophocles's play in the Electra of Euripides. Euripides sees the improbability of the murder of Clytæmnestra and Ægisthus in their palace. He therefore motives the absence of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra from the palace and their presence in a place where they could be easily overcome. And throughout the Euripidean drama there is a motiving of the situations where the Sophoclean technique was faulty : for example, the appearance of the chorus, the entrance of Orestes, and the meeting of Orestes and Electra with their victims. Ribbeck also points to a ridiculing of Sophocles in the Euripidean lines

ἥκεις γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἔκπλεθρον δραμὼν
ἀγῶν' ἐς οἴκους, ἀλλὰ πολέμιον κτανὼν
Αἴγισθον[3].

Cf. Sophocles, Electra, lines 680 ff. And again in

ἥκω γὰρ οὐ λόγοισιν ἀλλ' ἔργοις κτανὼν
Αἴγισθον.[4]

[1] Hermes, 18, p. 249.
[2] Ribbeck, O., Leipziger Studien, 1885.
[3] Eur., El., vv. 883 ff.
[4] Eur., El., 11, 883 ff.

Steiger[1] gives many other parallel passages where there is more or less open criticism of Sophocles in the Euripidean verses. Vahlen[2] has shown with great detail the likenesses in the scenes between Clytæmnestra and Electra and demonstrates thereby the priority of the Sophoclean drama, pointing out the dependence of the scene in the Euripidean Electra on the other and the better motiving of its arguments. Kaibel[3] compares striking passages throughout the plays which show a development and expansion of Sophoclean thoughts by Euripides. "Bei Soph.", he says, "geht Elektra schlecht gekleidet und schlecht genährt einher (191), bei Eur. hat sie einen schlichten Bauern heirathen müssen und führt darum in harter Arbeit ein kümmerlich ärmliches Leben; so mangelt ihr schöne Kleidung und gute Nahrung von selbst. Æschylus hat dergleichen Kleinmalerei nicht; hat Soph. sie erfunden oder Euripides? Die Keime für die breitere und zugleich gröbere Malerei des Eur. finden sich alle schon bei Sophokles; er kann der entlehnende nicht sein." Sophocles's Electra, lines 267–274, is compared by Kaibel with Euripides's Electra, lines 314–331, as evidence of the way in which Euripides endeavors to outdo Sophocles with the latter's own material. He well cites the *ὡς λέγουσιν* as showing the dependence of Euripides upon Sophocles. Euripides is not "drawing the thing as he sees it", but "von Hörensagen", as Kaibel says. Again he cites Soph., El., 341 and 364, comparing Eur., El., 932–935, with the remark, "Das ist bei Soph. ganz individuell auf Chrysothemis zugeschnitten, während bei Eurip. der Gedanke eigentlich in der Luft schwebt".

It seems hardly worth while to multiply examples. Others are given by Kaibel, and still more may be found *passim* throughout the plays. The Euripidean prologue furnishes many illustrations of his expansion of Sophoclean themes. From

[1] Ibid., vv, 893 c, op. cit., pp. 596 ff.
[2] Vahlen, Hermes, 37.
[3] Kaibel, Elektra, 1896, p. 57.

Electra's song at the beginning of the play Euripides[1] has evidently freely borrowed and enlarged. Cf. Soph., El., 97 with Eur., 60; Soph., 99, and Eur., 160; Soph. 102, Eur., 124; Soph., 107, with the expanded simile Eur., 151 ff.; Soph., 191 with Eur., 184–5.

The evidence is cumulative and it should need only a careful reading of the two plays to convince one of the priority of Sophocles's Electra. The critics who have made this comparison in detail are, with the exception of Wilamowitz, of the opinion that Euripides wrote his Electra after that of Sophocles[2]. Wilamowitz says: "Lediglich aus dem Inhalt, aus der Poesie, heraus habe ich das Altersverhältniss der Elektren bestimmt"[3]. He goes on, however, to make a searching examination of the metres of the Sophoclean Electra, which fully establishes the fact that that play is among the later works of Sophocles and shows Euripidean influence, as do all his later plays in the lyrical parts. This indicates not that the play is subsequent to that of Euripides, but that it did not precede it by many years. And from the polemic spirit of the Euripidean play one is inclined to conjecture that the offending Sophoclean drama, which is the reason for the existence of the other, did not long antedate it.

The Helen.

The exact dating of the play depends upon the following scholia: Aristophanes, Frogs, 53:

τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν: διὰ τί μὴ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλην, Φοινίσσας, Ἀντιόπην; ἡ δὲ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόῳ ἔτει προῆλθεν.

Thesmophoriazusæ, 1011:[4]

σημεῖον ὑπεδήλωσε Περσεὺς κ. τ. λ. πιθανῶς· συνδεδίδακται γὰρ τῇ Ἑλένῃ.

[1] Soph., El., vv, 86 ff.
[2] Wil., Hermes, 18, p. 242.
[3] Hermes, 18, pp. 242 ff.
[4] Rutherford, Schol. Ar., I, p. 289.

The date of the Frogs is given in the hypothesis to the play: *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένη, i. e.*, Ol. 93.3, 405 B. C. The Helen, then, together with the Andromeda was brought out in the spring of 412.

The parodies on these two plays in the Thesmophoriazusæ of 411 are also of importance in fixing the date. That play, unlike the Lysistrata of the same year, which is entirely political, is a satire on the literary tendencies of the time[1]. It is evident from the play that the Helen and the Andromeda must have achieved great popularity; for much of the play is given up to parodies of the two. Mnesilochus (v. 850) says that to bring Euripides to his rescue he will use one of his dramas:

ἐγῷδα· τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην μιμήσομαι.

The term *καινὴν* has been variously interpreted, and in all likelihood it refers both to the recent production of the play and to the innovations in its plot. In line 1012 Mnesilochus says that in making his escape Euripides in the character of Perseus has indicated to him that he must assume the character of Andromeda. It is on this line that the scholiast says that this is very reasonable, because that play was brought out with the Helen. I do not see why Rutherford here assumes a lacuna[2] and calls this "a fragment of a note, which may perhaps justify the inference that the Andromeda and the Helen were both exhibited in 412 B. C.". The note appears to me complete, and the inference inevitable.

The criticism in the Thesmophoriazusæ is not so fine as that in the Frogs, being here for the most part merely caricature and suggesting no principle of æsthetic criticism. In one passage Aristophanes ridicules the mannerisms and characteristics of Euripides, which appear markedly in the scene in the Helen which he is caricaturing; see Thesm., lines 915 f.:

λαβέ με λαβέ με, πόσι, περίβαλε δὲ χέρας,
φέρε σε κύσω, ἄπαγέ μ' ἄπαγ' ἄπαγ' ἄπαγέ με.

[1] Meineke, Aristoph. Comœdiæ, I, Commentatio, p. xliii.
[2] Op. cit., I, p. 4–9.

He achieved a greater success than this seven years later in the celebrated song of Glauce in the Frogs.

The fate of the flower-woman who can no longer earn her living, because Euripides has spoiled the market for her garlands by persuading men that there are no gods,

νῦν δ' οὗτος ἐν ταῖσιν τραγῳδίαις ποιῶν
τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναπέπεικεν οὐκ εἶναι θεούς[1],

refers to the tone of the plays from the Andromache down the to the Helen (417–412) in their bitterness against oracles and popular religious conceptions.

Besides the indications in the play of Aristophanes, there is a passage in the Electra of Euripides which may be interpreted in the light of facts as an announcement of the forthcoming Helen. This is in lines 1280 ff.:

Ἑλένη τε θάψει· Πρωτέως γὰρ ἐκ δόμων
ἥκει λιποῦσ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐδ' ἦλθεν Φρύγας,
Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτῶν,
εἴδωλον Ἑλένης ἐξέπεμψ' εἰς Ἴλιον.

This is usually understood as pointing forward to the Helen, though some have taken it as a reference to a play already published, such a reference as that in the Orestes to the plot of the Andromache, and that in the Ion to the plot of the Erechtheus. Since everything else points to 413 for the Electra and since we have good tradition for the date 412 for the Helen, this passage must refer to the yet unpublished play, which evidently was at least outlined in Euripides's mind, if not composed, when he wrote these lines in the Electra.

The question of the relation of the Helen and the Tauric Iphigenia has been discussed already. The Helen has evidently drawn upon that play for its plot and shows in some respects an advance in technique on it and the Ion in the recognition-scenes, in respect both of probability and of metre[2].

[1] Thesm., vv. 450 ff.
[2] Masqueray, op. cit., p. 252.

In metrical and verbal style the Helen is characteristic of its period. It is very long, the lyric parts are expanded, the presence of the chorus is unmotived (cf. Bergk, op. cit., III, p. 551: "Wie die Anwesenheit hellenischer Frauen am Nilstrom zu rechtfertigen sei, hat der Dichter, der es mit dem Motiviren nicht so genau nimmt, verschwiegen"), and their songs are often irrelevant. The iambic trimeter is marked by frequent resolutions, the play coming between the Ion and the Phœnissæ in this respect, and the frequent concomitant of this laxity of the trimeter, the trochaic tetrameter, appears in an excited dialogue between Theoclymenus and the chorus. The duet between Menelaus and Helen, as well as the *κομμός*, is of the unsymmetric type. Masqueray comments thus: "Tout le lyrisme de l'Hélène, à part la chante de reconnaissance, est d'ailleurs d'une banalité qui sent la décadence"[1]. The parodos illustrates that subordination of the chorus which so characterizes the later work of Euripides. Definite references to political events of the day do not appear in the play. In composing the choral passages in vv. 1107 ff. the poet must have had in mind the suffering and losses occasioned by the Syracusan war, though his theme is the Trojan.

The Phœnissæ.

The ancient testimonies which we possess concerning the date of the Phoenissæ do not fix it exactly, but assign it with sufficient clearness to Euripides's last years. This dating is borne out by internal evidence. The statements which refer to the time of its appearance are found in scholia on the Birds and Frogs of Aristophanes and in an hypothesis of the play emanating from Aristophanes of Byzantium. According to the well-known scholion of the Ravenna manuscript on verse 53 of the Frogs the Andromeda appeared in 412, and the Thesmophoriazusæ of the following year, which is so largely given up to parodies on Euripides, contains a parody of a

[1] Id., ib., p. 212.

line from the Andromeda. Cf. the scholion on Thesm. 1015[1] *φίλαι, παρθένοι φίλαι: παρὰ τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας Εὐριπίδου, φιλαι παρθένοι, φίλαι μοι. τὰ δὲ ἐπιφερόμενα παρὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χορόν.* Another scholion on verse 424 of the Birds[2] speaks of the verse as *ἐκ τῶν μηδέπω διδαχθεισῶν Φοινισσῶν.* The hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium assigns the play to the archonship of the unknown Nausicrates, believed by Dindorf to be "suffectus", and by Bergk to have been an *ὑποδιδάσκαλος*.[3]

The *terminus post quem* for the play is evidently 412 B. C. It has been argued by Jahn, Wilamowitz, and Wecklein that, as Euripides spent the last year of his life in Macedonia, the range of possible dates for bringing out the play is narrowed to 411–408. Zirndorfer[4] prefers 410 on the ground that the dialogue between Jocasta and Polynices on the sorrows of exile refers to the speech which Alcibiades made at Samos in 411–410[5], in an assembly of the soldiers in which he lamented the misfortunes of his own exile. Wecklein[6] points out that this would suit the year 409 or 408 as well as 410, since the question of the return of Alcibiades was one that filled the minds of the Athenians down to the very day when he returned to Athens and was received with open arms by the people in spite of the omen of the veiled Athena[7]. The speeches of the *ὄχλος* from Athens and Piræus, who flocked down to welcome him in 407[8], treat Alcibiades's exile as greatly undeserved and himself as one whose action against his native country was justified by the treatment which he had received at the hands of his enemies.

There is certainly a striking parallel in the conception of Polynices, the ill-treated younger brother, which Euripides pre-

[1] Rutherford, op. cit., II, p. 500.
[2] Dindorf, Adnot. ad Aristoph., III, II, p. 602.
[3] Bergk, Griech. Litt., II, 561.
[4] Zirndorfer, cited by Fix, Paley, Wecklein, etc.
[5] Thuc. VIII, 81.
[6] Wecklein, Phœnissæ, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 20–21.
[7] Xen. Hell., I, 11 ff.
[8] Xen. op. cit., I, 13, 17.

sents in the Phœnissæ. One line, in my opinion, may have a special significance with reference to the exile of Alcibiades. Plutarch, in speaking of the versatility of Alcibiades, tells of the fame that came to him in Sparta because of his conformity to Spartan ways. "When they saw him", he says, "with his uncut hair, his cold baths, his coarse bread and black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man ever kept a cook, or saw a perfumer, or brought himself to touch a robe of Milesian purple"[1].

Plutarch continues: *ἦν γὰρ ὡς πᾶσι μία δεινότης αὕτη τῶν πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴ θήρας ἀνθρώπων συνεξομοιοῦσθαι καὶ συνομοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις ὀξυτέρας τρεπομένῳ τροπάς τοῦ χαμαιλέοντος. πλὴν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὡς λέγεται πρὸς ἓν ἐξαδυνατεῖ χρῶμα τὸ λευκὸν ἀφομοιοῦν ἑαυτόν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ δὲ διὰ χρηστῶν ἰόντι καὶ πονηρῶν ὁμοίως οὐδὲν ἦν ἀμίμητον οὐδ' ἀνεπιτήδευτον, ἀλλ' ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυμναστικός, εὐτελής, σκυθρωπός, ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χλιδανός, ἐπιτερπής, ῥᾴθυμος, ἐν Θρᾴκῃ μεθυστικός, ἱππαστικός, Τισσαφέρνῃ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ συνὼν ὑπερέβαλεν ὄγκῳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ τὴν Περσικὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐξιστὰς οὕτω ῥᾳδίως εἰς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου τρόπον οὐδὲ πᾶσαν δεχόμενος τῷ ἤθει μεταβολὴν κ. τ. λ.*

To this notable adaptability on the part of Alcibiades, which Plutarch distinctly says was not to his pleasure, but was the result of policy, may be referred lines 371–375 of the Phœnissæ:

Πο. *ἓν μὲν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.*
Ιο. *δοῦλον τοδ' εἶπας μὴ λέγειν ἃ τις φρονεῖ.*
Πο. *τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών.*
Ιο. *καὶ τοῦτο λυπρόν, συνασοφεῖν τοῖς μὴ σοφοῖς.*
Πο. *ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον.*

[1] Plut. Alc., I, 23, 5. *λακωνίζων ὥσθ' ὁρῶντας ἐν χρᾷ κουριῶντα καὶ ψυχρολουτοῦντα καὶ μάζῃ συνόντα καὶ ζωμῷ μέλανι χρώμενον ἀπιστεῖν καὶ διαπορεῖν εἴποτε μάγειρον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔσχεν ἢ προσέβλεψε μυρεψὸν ἢ Μιλησίας ἡνέσχετο θιγεῖν χλανίδος.*

There may be here a thrust at Spartan *ἀμαθία* and rudeness, which Alcibiades adopted *εἰς τὸ κέρδος*, unpleasant as he may have found the enforced society of Spartans, longing as he did for Athens. Cf. his speech at Sparta, Thuc. VI, 92, 3–4, though this is of course colored by Thucydidean afterthought.

Klotz suggests a reference to Alcibiades in *ἢ ποθεινὸς φίλοις* in line 320, and Zirndorfer refers to him lines 358–360[1]:

μῆτερ, φρονῶν εὖ κοὐ φρονῶν ἀφικόμην
ἐχθροὺς ἐς ἄνδρας· ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
πατρίδος ἐρᾶν ἅπαντας· ὃς δ' ἄλλως λέγει
λόγοισι χαίρει, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει.

It seems on the whole entirely reasonable to suppose that Euripides, whose imagination had been touched by the young Alcibiades and who celebrated his victories in lyric verse, should have been interested in his home-coming and have hoped good from it for Athens, even though he had words of denunciation for him in the time when Athens faced destruction in the Syracusan war because of Acibiades's efforts against her.

From the data at hand it appears impossible to date the play more exactly than 411–408. Wecklein argues for the later date as being more in accord with the phrase of the scholiast, *τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων*.

The length of the play, its lack of restraint in diction (I note 22 cases of *ἐπίζευξις*), the laxity of the iambic trimeter and the use of the trochaic tetrameter in the dialogues, the irrelevancy of the choruses, and the expansion of the lyric parts mark it as one of the latest dramas.

The question of the connection between the Phœnissæ and Sophocles's Œdipus Coloneus is complicated by the question of the probable extent of the corruption in the closing part of the Phœnissæ. All recognize that this part of the play has undergone changes in transmission, and some agree with Wecklein[2]

[1] Both cited by Wecklein, op. cit., p. 21.
[2] Wecklein, op. cit., p. 14 and p. 15, note.

in rejecting the entire close from line 1581. Wilamowitz says[1]: "Der Schluss der Phœnissæ ist also von Schauspielerhänden zugestuzt: verloren sind wenige Zeilen ohne Belang". Wilamowitz's position appears to be the safer one.

There will be found, however, in retaining the lines, especially lines 1703–9, no justification for those who would disregard the tradition and put the Œdipus Coloneus as early as 411 or before it. The reference here is such as Euripides could make to the traditional story, well-known to his audience, or to the story as given in a play of his own. Such a reference to the work of his rival Sophocles is unparalled and out of the question. It appears that Wilamowitz is right in saying: "Es ist ausser Zweifel dass Sophokles die Anregung dazu, seine eigene Heimatssage zu bearbeiten, aus den Phœnissæ des Euripides empfangen hat."[2].

The Orestes.

The date of the Orestes is fixed by a scholion on line 371 of the play: *πρὸ γὰρ Διοκλέους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐδίδαξε, Λακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσαμένων περὶ εἰρήνης ἀπιστήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ προσήκαντο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Θεοπόμπου· οὕτως ἱστορεῖ Φιλόχορος.* The archonship of Diocles fell in the second year of the ninety-second olympiad, that is 409–408 B. C. There are apparently some political allusions in the play. The scholiast says that Cleophon is meant in lines 903 ff.,

> *ἀνήρ τις ἀθυρόγλωσσος, ἰσχύων θράσει,*
> *Ἀργεῖος οὐκ Ἀργεῖος, ἠναγκασμένος,*
> *θορύβῳ τε πίσυνος κἀμαθεῖ παρρησίᾳ*
> *πιθανὸς ἔτ' αὐτοὺς περιβαλεῖν κακῷ τινι κ. τ. λ.*

He sees too a reference to the bad influence of Cleophon in line 771, *δεινὸν οἱ πολλοί, κακούργους ὅταν ἔχωσι προστάτας.* This reference seems practically certain, for the description

[1] Wilamowitz, Hermes, 18, p. 240, note.
[2] Hermes, 18, p. 239.

coincides remarkably with the notorious characteristics of Cleophon. He is often mentioned by his contemporaries and by writers of the next generation, and practically always with dislike and disgust. A notable exception is Lysias, Agoratus, 8 ff. For characteristics of him, cf. Ar., Frogs, 68 ff.,

> *Κλεοφῶντος, ἐφ' οὗ χείλεσιν ἀμφιλάλοις*
> *δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται Θρηκία χελιδών*
> *ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἐζομένη πέταλον,*

Æschin., II, 76:

Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁ λυροποιός, ὃν πολλοὶ δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ἐμνημόνευον, παρεγγραφεὶς αἰσχρῶς πολίτης καὶ διεφθαρκὼς νομῇ χρημάτων τὸν δῆμον, ἀποκόψειν ἠπείλει μαχαίρᾳ τὸν τράχηλον, εἴ τις τῆς εἰρήνης μνησθήσεται,

Aristot., Ath. Pol., 34:

τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεοφῶντος, ὃς ἐκώλυσε γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκὼς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέψειν, ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφιῶσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς πόλεις.

The description in the Orestes of the leader of the populace, strong in his impudence, a Greek, but no Greek, one who has forced his way, relying on his blustering and his unbridled, ignorant tongue, gifted with some eloquence to the ruin of his countrymen, is so vivid a picture and so tallies with the account of Cleophon given by the various writers who mention him, a *δήμου προστάτης* of uncertain antecedents, appealing to the lowest mob by his drunken, military bluster about cutting the throat of the men who dared say peace, that I cannot agree with Wedd[1] in thinking this a fancy picture. "It seems improbable", says he, "that this passage is meant to be anything more than a description of the typical evil demagogue". But Cleo-

[1] Wedd, N., Orestes, 1895.

phon appears to have outdone them all and he was *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* [1] at this time and stood in the way of the peace which Euripides praises at the close as *τὴν καλλίστην θεὸν Εἰρήνην*, on which the scholiast comments :

πρεσβευσαμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ προσήκαντο τὰς σπονδὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

The scholiast on Aristophanes, Frogs, line 1532, has been vindicated against Grote [2] in his comment on Cleophon's connection with the Spartan overtures of peace after Arginusæ by the discovery of the complete text of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. There is every probability that the scholiast on these passages of the Orestes is right in the application of the verses and the historical facts given, since his comments are borne out by data from other sources.

The style of the Orestes is so extreme that it has been maintained that this drama was of the sort to which the Alcestis belongs, a substitute for the satyr-drama. It shows a far greater license than the Alcestis in metre and exceeds even the Cyclops in the matter of resolutions. The subject, however, is more akin to tragedy and presents a deep problem of human life, notwithstanding the comic scene of the Phrygian and the conventionally happy ending. Wilamowitz, who believes that Sophocles's Electra followed that of Euripides, holds that the Orestes is a reply to the Sophoclean Electra [3]. "Hohes Interesse", says he, "gewährt es auch, zu verfolgen wie Euripides sich gegen die Sophokleische Elektra verhalten hat. Dafür ist sein Orestes das wichtigste Document. Hatte Sophokles auf das alte Epos zurückgegriffen, so that hier Euripides desgleichen. Er giebt gewissermassen eine Fortsetzung und damit eine Kritik des Sophokleischen Dramas."

The play is certainly a continuation of Euripides's own Electra in its criticism of the Sophoclean play. And, as M.

[1] Arist., Pol. Ath., 28.
[2] Hist. of Greece, viii, pp. 210–211, foot-note. London, 1849.
[3] Hermes, 18, p. 240.

Weil says [1]: "Que nous sommes loin d'Eschyle! La mythologie s'est transformée en psychologie".

Since it is, much more than the Alcestis, and exceedingly much more than the Helen and the Andromeda, a play with a moral problem, its licenses are not to be explained on the ground that it is a pro-satyric drama — of which there is no proof — but they must be attributed to the period at which it was composed. It belonged to the last tetralogy that Euripides gave in Athens and shows in a more extravagant degree than any other of his extant plays all the mannerism of music and style which he had introduced. It has more resolutions in the trimeter, more repeated words, and more innovations in the lyric parts than any of the rest. There are very beautiful passages in it, even among those marked most strongly with his mannerisms, such as the much-cited

πότνια πότνια νύξ,
ὑπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν,
ἐρεβόθεν ἴθι, μόλε μόλε κατάπτερος
τὸν Ἀγαμεμνόνιον ἐπὶ δόμον, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγέων,
ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς
διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα.

But the whole is not finely worked out. One cannot say of it, *πάνυ γὰρ χαριέντως καὶ μεμελημένως ἔχει.* Masqueray's statement with regard to the lyric portion holds good of the whole play: [1] "Nous savons que l'Oreste a été écrit à une époque de trouble. Peut-être Euripide a-t-il été forcé de travailler un peu vite.".

The Bacchæ and the Iphigenia in Aulis.

These two plays were brought out in Athens by Euripides the younger after the death of Euripides. This statement is given by a scholion on l. 67 of the Frogs of Aristophanes: *οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αἱ διδασκαλίαι φέρουσι, τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου*

[1] Sept Tragédies d'Euripide, p. 675.
[2] Op. cit., p. 282.

τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδαχέναι ὁμωνύμως (or ὁμώνυμον) ἐν ἄστει Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας. These plays, with a satyr-play, gained the first prize[1]. The Bacchæ and I. A. both show plainly by their technique that they belong to the latest stage of the poet's work. The Bacchæ shows that work in its perfection. This cannot be said of the Aulid Iphigenia, for all its beauties; and moreover that play has not reached us in its original form, but has suffered much from interpolation. Both plays show great freedom in the metre, almost equalling the Orestes in this respect. The Aulid Iphigenia, in particular, is marked by the use of the trochaic tetrameter beyond any other extant Euripidean play. The choruses in the Bacchæ are notable in that they correspond to the situation and the plot of the play, while those of the Iphigenia show the characteristic later irrelevancy. The repetitions in the Bacchæ are very frequent, but this is in accord with the passionate feeling of the whole play. There are traces in the Bacchæ of its composition in Macedonia in the description or mention of features of the Macedonian landscape — Pieria, Olympus, the river Axios (lines 409ff., 560 ff.).

Among the interesting problems connected with the two plays is that of their relation to Euripides's conception of divine and human things. This question, of course, is of special moment with reference to the Bacchæ. Berlage[2], who traces in Euripides's work three stages of opinion about religion, corresponding to three periods of his life, sees in the Phœnissæ, Bacchæ and Aulid Iphigenia an abandonment of bitterness toward divine things and an acquiescence in the decrees of heaven. It is difficult, however, to be mathematically exact in marking off periods of psychical change, and there is great danger of overlooking or pre-conceiving facts when one has a theory of the existence of such periods. The Orestes, which follows the Phœnissæ and cannot long precede the Bacchæ and the Aulid Iphigenia, is

[1] Cf. Suidas, Εὐριπίδης.
[2] Berlage, J., Commentatio de Eur. philosopho, Leyden, 1888, pp. 17 ff.

certainly a disturbing factor for the theory of reconciliation with religion in Euripides's last days. The grandeur of the tragedy of the Bacchæ is lost and its effect becomes trivial, if it is regarded, according to the usual interpretation given of it, as a recantation of Euripides's old attitude toward religion accompanied with the moral that "the understanding of man cannot subvert ancestral tradition"[1]. It revolts the intellectual and moral sense alike to suppose for a moment that Euripides found perfect deity in Dionysus and had no sympathy with his victims. "Es kann niemand den Euripides ärger verkennen, als wenn er in ihnen [*i. e.* den Bakchen] eine bekehrung zum glauben der alten weiber sieht. Teiresias ist mit nichten der träger seiner ideen, und Dionysos, der so grausam an Pentheus sich rächt, ist mit nichten sein gott. er dramatisiert diesen mythos, führt die in ihm liegenden conflicte durch."[2]

[1] Müller and Donaldson, I, p. 499.
[2] Wilamowitz, Herakles, I, p. 134.

LIFE.

I was born in Robbinstown, Maine, received my preparatory training for college in the High School of Watertown, Massachusetts, and from private instruction. I entered Radcliffe College in 1884 and was graduated in 1888. During the next five years I taught in the Cambridge School for Girls and pursued graduate courses in Radcliffe College. In 1893 I came to Vassar College as Instructor in Greek and Latin. In 1899 I went abroad as Fellow of the Woman's Educational Society of Boston, and spent two semesters in study in Berlin. I also visited Greece and Italy. From 1900 to 1903 I took graduate work in Columbia University, and received the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1903. My work in classics in Cambridge was done chiefly in the classes of Professors Goodwin, Greenough, Smith and Wright, to whom I am greatly indebted. In Germany I attended lectures of Professors Diels, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Kirchhoff, Pernice and others. My work in Columbia was under the direction of Professors Perry, Wheeler and Earle, to whom I offer my sincerest thanks. I owe an especial debt of gratitude to Professor Earle, under whose direction this dissertation was written.

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